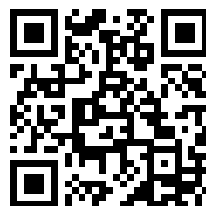


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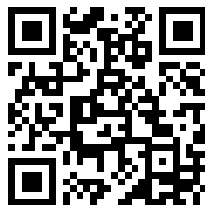


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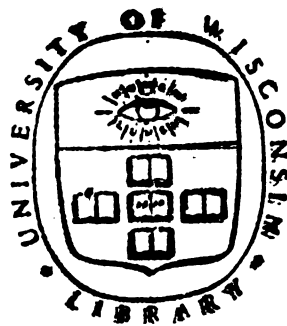
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# QUEEN'S QUARTERLY.

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VOL. III.

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JULY, 1895-APRIL, 1896.

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# QUEEN'S QUARTERLY.

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VOL. III.

JULY, 1895.

No. I.

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## SOME PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF OUR PRESBY- TERIAN POLITY.

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ENDEAVOURING to make all due allowance for the personal equation which must always be reckoned upon in questions of this character, I still maintain that the Presbyterian Church in Canada to-day is the broadest in its sympathies, the most free in its administration, and the nearest in its spirit to the basis of Christian Union of all the denominations in this Dominion, and is becoming still more so every year. I am not saying that its Confession and Catechism can be the doctrinal utterances of a Catholic Church, or that other churches are destitute of the excellences claimed for the Presbyterian, but that take it for all in all it stands to the very front in the development of true catholicity and of evangelical freedom. Take for example its conception of a church, a Christian Church; it stands upon no fancied apostolic stilts saying, "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are we"; nor with imperious hand does it warn from its communion those who do not accept its view of the form of an ordinance, but declares "particular churches," or as we now would say in common parlance, the denominations, to be members of the one visible or Catholic Church. Moreover, it as plainly disclaims infallibility for itself as it denies it to others, avowing that "the purest churches under heaven are subject to mixture and error"; therefore it confessedly stands open to any consideration that can reasonably be presented in support of a needed change. Its membership is open to any who intelligently

"profess the true religion, together with their children"; even as the Pentecostal promise was declared "to be to you and to your children and all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call unto Him." Where will you find a broader platform consistent with an evangelical faith?

This rather long utterance, ending with the query, was made to an avowed adherent of the Presbyterian Church who had been complaining of the narrowness of the faith of his fathers. His reply was ready as soon as his interlocutor was silent: "I cannot discuss doctrine or polity with you, I am a busy man, but look at the Macdonnell trouble which dragged its slow length along for two or three years, and at the late Campbell case." "Gladly with a non-ecclesiastical eye will I look at those cases in confirmation of my statement in its practical bearing", was my response, and the substance of my somewhat lengthy reply will now be given as presenting one of several aspects from which our mode of administration, points of order, and apparently tedious processes are worthy in the main of being retained and of being deservedly respected.

Let it be granted that the earlier case dragged its slow length along for two or three years; the union between the different branches of the Presbyterian Church in Canada was the result of patient endeavour and earnest prayer extending over many years and covering several honoured graves; to conserve that union intact, and to cement together diverse sections in an harmonious whole which to-day shows no line of cleavage, was worth waiting through the dragging along of the slow length; no one conversant with all the circumstances, and recognising the mutual respect and confidence now prevailing, regrets a single step in the "tedious" process, or would resent the rising to a single point of order in a course which has led to such a happy issue. But was it necessary to travel the long way round to arrive safely home? We shall essay an answer.

Let us tarry a moment to consider what true breadth of sympathy means. It is possible to advocate temperance in a most intemperate manner; it is equally possible to be most illiberally liberal. However excusable the position was that would exclude peremptorily instrumental music from public worship, we pretty

generally admit that the prohibition manifested great narrowness of vision ; it would be equally narrow on the part of those who claimed liberty in the matter to exclude, or seek to coerce, those who, conceding liberty, were themselves unwilling to use that liberty. The terms "narrow" and "broad" are used in no offensive sense ; they conveniently, if not exactly, indicate in general well understood relations. If the narrow school works harmoniously with the broad, it would be extremely narrow on the part of the broad school to deny to the narrow all the rights and privileges and sympathies claimed for themselves. Remembering this, look at the second and more recent case, as manifesting with the earlier one the happy working of a polity which compels time to elapse ere the final issue is reached ; which in short affords opportunity for excitement to cool and judgment calmly to assert its sway without repressing the free utterance of honest convictions and the respectful consideration of opposite views.

What were the facts? A respected and loved teacher of undoubted character and of high attainments, impressed with the consciousness that the theological language of long past times did not express the truth when interpreted as the language of to-day, took occasion in one of a course of Sunday lectures in connection with one of our Universities to correct some—as he conceived—popular misapprehensions of the character of God ; to make in short our theological conception centre around the Christ, and to read through His manifestations, all the revelations made concerning the Father, and man's relation unto Him. The truths our friend sought to illustrate were not new. The lecturer would in his modesty be the last to claim novelty for them, but they were presented in a form peculiarly the speaker's own, with the expressed intention of awakening attention, in which endeavour they were eminently successful. The language was startling, in the judgement of many who sympathized with the views presented, ill chosen—in fact the speaker himself when challenged did not wholly justify the method of presentation. The lecture was reported, and in due course published honestly as delivered ; in the meantime a paper, professedly published in the interests of the Church, attacked with asperity, and we venture to add with unseemly haste, the position taken, or sup-

posed to be taken, in the reported utterances. The representative paper of a——(we had almost written "rival", we correct and write) sister denomination with ill-timed zeal prejudged the case, and in consequence, many with strongly conservative instincts were alarmed. The heresy tocsin had been rung, and the marshalling of forces began.

Under the excitement of imminent danger, real or supposed, it is not uncommon for deeply interested parties to "lose their heads." Contrast the calm and wise bravery of a well trained fire brigade with the efforts of a deeply sympathetic and excited crowd at a fire. We have seen crockery thrown out of a window while a mattress was being carefully carried down the stairs. We have known cases where the local church was supreme and all outside interference indignantly resented, under the pressure of present excitement determine on a course which became matter of general regret and of permanent injury, not only to the local, but to the general cause. Had the case in view been adjudicated on by popular vote at this immature stage when some sections of the press were unwisely sounding the alarm, to all human foresight division, bitterness, alienations, and persistent contentions had arisen; but the slow process of Church courts, and the recognition of rights both individual and presbyterial, have accustomed the loyal Presbyterian to a practical application of the truth "He that believeth shall not make haste." Truth and right have time upon their side, and have no occasion to fail either by undue haste or with unwise delay. Naturally the Church was aroused, and the matter brought at the earliest opportunity before the Assembly.

By an exercise of supreme power the General Assembly might possibly have passed judgement at once, though we venture to think that only by a stretch of constitutional power could such a course have been taken. That extreme course was not taken, and the utility of the training constitutional methods establish is seen in the wisdom of the deliverance which was unanimously adopted that "the General Assembly deems it proper to allow the Presbytery (of Montreal) to proceed *in the constitutional way*." No doubt the calm judicial character of the esteemed mover of that motion had much to do with the wisdom of the action, but Principal Caven would be the readiest to recognize



the powerful influence of training in the courts of the Church in forming that character; nor would he be second to any in urging respect for those forms which are, we rejoice to believe, not the mere traditions of the fathers, but the expression of that conviction which, recognizing the fallibility of all things human, is content to appear even at times in a ludicrous aspect, and to bear with present inconveniences, rather than risk the hasty perpetration of a wrong, or the unwise introduction of a cause of stumbling. There is no need to pursue the case further; the spirit and action of the Assembly permeated the entire Church. To repeat the words of an esteemed friend in a conversation upon the subject, "How creditable it is to the Church the amicable settlement and the unbroken confidence accompanying!—how advantageous to have constitutional modes of procedure which necessitate delays and allow time for passions and prejudices to cool. It is impossible to be too thankful for the result, and its contrast with the continued agitation in the sister Church of the United States is remarkable."

My friend recognized as something new to him, the rights of what he was pleased to term "narrow men", confessed that comprehension had a fresh meaning for him, and introduced some more strictly doctrinal questions regarding the true spirit of our Confession to the answering of which I now address myself. Meantime let me urge upon those who are under the influence of that youthful vigour without which a new country would soon fall back into its earlier chaos, that the harmony of the spheres is perpetuated by a centripetal as well as by a centrifugal force; in their mutual counterpoise

"The sun makes music as of old.

Among the rival spheres of heaven,"

and a loyal submission to ordained regulations which in themselves provide for needful changes is one of the conditions of healthy progress and solid growth.

Two preliminary statements must here be permitted. I do not plead for a retention of the Confession as the exponent of the doctrine of the Presbyterian Church; as one cannot find in a foreign tongue the music of one's own, so one age with its phil-

osophies and its controversies can never rightly express the living faith of another. I believe most firmly that a simpler expression of our Evangelical faith than that of the Westminster standards is very much needed, and must eventually be given. I believe that the prolonged retention of those standards as tests or contracts, is not only unwise, but hurtful to frank and open-hearted truthfulness. We have already driven a coach and six through the six days of creation, the limited atonement theory, the marriage degrees of prohibited affinity; and we freely allow persistent pre-millennial teaching to the manifest violation of their eschatology. I am not therefore entering a side plea against either revision or displacement, but drawing attention to things as they are. My next preliminary remark is this; the Confession has been so thoroughly taken as the corypheus of distinctive Calvinistic theology, that its position on other great questions of Evangelical Christianity and of the nature of the Christian Church, has been practically lost sight of; nevertheless we venture to assert, that in these latter relations rather than in the former its real spirit is to be found, and on that line we purpose to follow its teachings in maintaining our thesis that for true Evangelical liberty and Catholic sympathy, the Presbyterian Church in Canada, while maintaining these standards, is second to none in our Dominion; and if for purposes of illustration we should be drawn into some comparisons with the declaration of other portions of the visible Church, those comparisons will be made, we trust, in the true spirit of Catholic fraternity and not in that of ecclesiastical or of dogmatic antagonism.

The words of John Robinson to the sturdy Independents as they embarked on the Mayflower for the wilds of New England, have been often quoted as those of a broad-souled, far-seeing Christian leader, and as in strict accord with the true spirit of Evangelical development:—"I am very confident the Lord hath more light and truth yet to break forth out of his Holy word. It is not possible that the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick anti-Christian darkness, and the full perfection of knowledge break forth at once." The Confession of Faith expressly states that "all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits, are to be examined"

by no authority other than "the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scriptures," and as expressly disclaims finality or infallibility by declaring that "all synods or councils since the apostles' times, whether general or particular, may err, and many have erred; therefore they are not to be made the rule of faith or practice, but to be used as an help in both." This position is deserving of careful notice, expressing as it does, in a confessional form, the same sentiments as those noted of the Amsterdam refugee. "The Word of God, which is contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament" is the recognized standard, but it is not asserted by the Confession that in its statements the Word has been infallibly interpreted; moreover to require of any one "an implicit faith" or "an absolute and blind obedience, is to destroy liberty of conscience, and reason also." (Conf. ch. xx 2.) In brief, the Westminster divines have attempted to formulate a scriptural theology; they formally confess in so doing their liability with others to err; and they positively state that to believe or to obey doctrines or commandments of men which have not the authority of the Word of God "is to betray that liberty of conscience; for the which they strenuously contended." In holding to the Confession of Faith, the Presbyterian Church holds to its right to change the same in accordance with its one supreme standard, the Scriptures; and denounces the right to coerce or to bind any conscience, save as it has behind it, the undoubted declaration of the will of God. In our present confessedly imperfect state, we can conceive of no greater Christian liberty, and they who in the Presbyterian Church would abridge the same, do violence to the spirit of the divines whose Confession they adopt, in other words are not true to Presbyterian polity.

And at this point we may be permitted a word or two on the Calvinism of the Westminster Divines. We hold it to be a monstrous anachronism in the development of the Christian conscience to say that while God is bound to be just, He is not bound to be generous: or that love is an attribute which, like omnipotence, God may exercise or not exercise, as He will. God cannot deny Himself, and He is Love; and though the keen argumentative style of the Pauline writings lend themselves more readily than the Johannine to a forensic system of theology,

yet Paul himself in the very height of his passionate reasoning exults in the assurance that nothing can separate from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus. That the creeds of what may be called the creed-making epoch of the Christian Church, rested their systems rather upon the righteousness than upon the love of God, can readily be understood when we remember the circumstances which called them forth. Religion had degenerated to a mere form, truth became a mere traffic, lies strutted about in the garb of sanctity, and the Church was but a shelter for all that is vile and debasing in human society. The true heart sighed for righteousness, and just indignation demanded judgement. When the foe is on your hearthstone, words of endearment are out of place, and the hand is not to bless but to smite. The God of justice and of judgement was He for whose strong arm men prayed; and from such experiences the theology which rested upon supreme will and infinite justice was forged out. Let us not misjudge its seeming harshness; the sternest faith and strongest hope rested therein. We best do homage to those men into whose rich heritage we have been born, not by slavishly wearing their armour, but by using the opportunities and instruments they have so nobly bequeathed to us in pressing on into the more glorious liberty of the children of that God whose new best name is Love. We do the Calvinistic theology itself an injustice if we rest satisfied with anything that is past, resisting or neglecting "the sanctifying Spirit of Christ" by which "the saints grow in grace, perfecting holiness in the fear of God."

In defining the Church the Confession shows a most marked catholicity. That all that have been, are, or shall be gathered into one, under Christ the head, constitute the Church, the Bride, the Lamb's wife, will be disputed by none; not even by the most bitter sectary; nevertheless the positing of that principle is in itself a manifestation of broad sympathy; nor do we judge more credit is given to the spirit of the Westminster divines than it deserves by paralleling their definition with Faber's lines:—

"For the love of God is broader than the measure of man's mind,  
And the heart of the Eternal is most wonderfully kind."

The succeeding sections of Chap. xxv. make more manifest the unsectarian spirit. The visible Church "consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true, (*i.e.* the Christian) religion, together with their children"; and though the Pope of Rome, by a questionable exegesis, is declared to be "that anti-christ, that man of sin, and son of perdition," the Church of which he is the acknowledged head, is not unchurched, for this character is ascribed to him because he "exalteth himself in the Church against Christ." When it is remembered that the Reformation struggle was not yet over, that many of its graves were green, and still men walked about with their lives in their hands, the magnanimity of this recognition will be more manifest. The Church of Rome might be degenerate, but it was a degenerate Church nevertheless, needing reformation, but not re-establishment; it was still part of the Church, visible and Catholic. Of this visible and universal Church "particular churches", or as we would now say "denominations," are members. There is not only an absence of the assumption that the Church which adopts the Confession is the Church *par excellence*, but also the definite statement, that all communities which claim to be churches are more or less purely such "as the doctrine of the gospel is taught and embraced"; in other words, the Church is to be judged by its fruits, and by that standard, the Presbyterian Church confessedly stands or falls.

The nineteenth and twentieth articles of the Anglican Church are equally catholic in their tone, and simpler in their expressions, but—as it appears to us—the "Constitutions and Canons ecclesiastical," occupy a position that largely vitiates that catholicity. We have no desire to press invidious comparisons, and therefore simply draw attention to the fact that interchange of pulpits with ministers of other than episcopal communions violates those canons. In accepting twenty-five of the thirty-nine articles as part of its doctrinal standards, the Methodist Church in Canada adopts, without the "Canons Ecclesiastical", the truly catholic definition of the Church, and thus stands upon a broad basis; we venture to think, however, that by making itself professedly in its discipline a total abstinence society, and otherwise defining where Scripture gives liberty, the fellowship limits are unduly narrowed if the general rules are to be maintained. At all events,

the position is not as carefully guarded as in the Presbyterian Confession that conscience is not to be bound, save as the Word of God most manifestly declares.

The "Hand-Book of Congregationalism" prepared at the request of the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec, so thoroughly exalts the local church as to practically deny the larger fellowship, quoting as it does with approval William Bradshaw's dictum, that the name of a "true visible church of Christ, is improperly attributed to any other convocations, synods, societies, combinations, or assemblies whatsoever." By such a position the right which is claimed for two or three assembling together is denied to a larger number that may choose to associate when not assembling in one place. The close communion of our Baptist brethren is most assuredly the very antipodes of catholicity, and partakes in my view of the nature of an ecclesiastical crime.

Briefly to capitulate; the Confession adopted as the subordinate standard of doctrine by the Presbyterian Church in Canada is in its intent most truly progressive and catholic; disclaiming infallibility, it is ever open to change or to modification according as greater light breaks forth either upon or from its one supreme standard, the Word of God as contained in the Scriptures. No wider field or freer hand can reasonably be desired within Christian lines. Its attitude towards other denominations is avowedly friendly—even more, it is fraternal; repelling exclusive claims on the part of others, it makes none for itself, only professing its place as part of the great Church of Christ visible upon earth; to be exclusive is to be unpresbyterian. It is to be hoped that, true to its trust, the Church in Canada will never swerve from its path of true catholicity and evangelical liberty; never degenerate into a sect, forge fetters for consciences that strive to be free, or check the honest investigator that seeks further light; but with an ever widening sympathy stand witnessing for that light, the true light, even the light which lighteth every man coming into the world.

JOHN BURTON.

## SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE GREAT NORTH-WEST.

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### II.—SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION.

SINCE the appearance of my first article on the North-West, in the January number of the *QUARTERLY*, I have been mildly remonstrated with for having devoted so much criticism to the extravagant statements of an immigration pamphlet which is now some years old, while passing by with much lighter reference the most recent issues of the Department of the Interior. Had I been making a special study of the Government's immigration literature this remonstrance would have had considerable force. But I was interested in the literature mainly as one of the causes explaining the present condition of the country and the character of the settlers as well as the prevalent ideas with regard to the West. I therefore selected for special observation such immigrant's guides as I found in the possession of the settlers or to which they most commonly referred. The literature which is now being circulated has not yet borne fruit; it still remains to be tested. However, as I had scored the Government somewhat for what it had already accomplished in that country, it is only fitting that I should tell whether I consider it to have made any changes for the better in its latest immigration pamphlets. Having solicited from the Department of the Interior and been generously supplied with what I take to be a pretty complete collection of the latest and most approved patterns of immigrant literature,—a collection which I confess is much larger than I was at all aware of,—I feel that if my judgment should be wrong it is not for lack of data. One or two of these pamphlets I had read before leaving for the West, the others I have since read with great interest. Taking them one with another the quality of the contents is rather uneven, and at times contradictory, showing at least an honest desire on the part of the higher officials to tell the tale as it was told to them. On the whole, the tone is much more moderate; the advantages of the country in

the best of the pamphlets, such as the "Official Handbook of Information relating to the Dominion of Canada" 1894, are but slightly over-stated, though the information is still misleading owing to the ignoring of the drawbacks. The photo-engravings and other illustrations in many of the pamphlets are of the same nature, not untrue as to the places represented but misleading as giving only the choicest bits.

There is a great difference, as many of us know, between the impression one gets of a country school when one drops in, in a casual way, on an ordinary school day, and the impression one gets of the same school when present on the official examination day at the close of the term. There is considerable difference, too, between the potatoes, turnips, pumpkins, fruit, grain, etc., on the farms of a given county and the specimens which are on exhibition at the county agricultural show. The well-clad children, the perfect lessons recited, the monster pumpkins and the tall corn stalks are all undoubted, facts and therefore much superior as evidences of the character of the country and its people to mere boastful talk about what the land and its people can do, but they are none the less misleading when taken to represent the average character of education and agriculture. Altogether I should pronounce these latest issues of the Department of the Interior a fairly good record of the examination day and big pumpkin phase of the country. One has no difficulty in recognizing that the evidence presented is all on the side of the best that can be said for the country. *Nil nisi bonum* is the standard to be respected in giving testimony. "But," I fancy some asking in indignant surprise, "is it reasonable to expect the Government, in its efforts to induce emigrants to come to this country, to dwell on its drawbacks; does any merchant in advertising his wares tell of their defects as well as of their good qualities?" Very unreasonable, no doubt, once it is recognized that such advertising is necessary. But this touches the centre of the whole social aspect of the question. Why should a country like ours be under the necessity of advertising itself in this way, and begging for population? When a man is under the necessity of advertising for a wife, or a woman for a husband, is there anything which throws more doubt on the accompanying statement of good qua-



lities than the very fact of advertising them ? Moreover it is next to impossible to conceive that the more refined and elevating relations between husband and wife can be fostered under a union brought about in this way. Still, the common every-day advantages of division of labour and mutual assistance in the lower spheres may be secured, and one cannot imagine that any loftier objects were ever sought. This I take to be a fair illustration of the loss of dignity and self-respect, the disregard of all the loftier elements of national achievement and of all that is noble and refining in patriotic sentiment which must accompany the holding of one's country and citizenship so cheap and common as to advertise them in this eager and commercial fashion. One has only to read the statements of the Government and the criticism of the Opposition to recognize that almost none of the loftier ideas of national development and patriotic citizenship enters into this craving for population, but simply ideas of commercial and speculative advantage. We cannot excuse this on the ground that the economic basis of the state is the first thing to be attended to and, that secured, the rest will all come right in time. Biological science and human history alike tell us that unless we begin with a good sample of a race of high social capacity no great civilization can be expected. Nowhere in the realm of living things do men gather grapes off thorns or figs off thistles. A primitive people may, in the course of time, develop a high civilization if it has the germ of great things in it, but the retrograde specimens of a developed people never amount to anything. Contrast the quality of the New England element in the American Republic with the quality of the Poor Whites of the Southern States. The New England colonists did not arrive on this continent in the train of immigrant agents ; neither did they come here merely on economic grounds and trusting to luck for any higher social development. The first settlers came with a high social and spiritual purpose, although it was a little rough and uncouth in some of its forms, and those who followed them came either with the same purpose or impelled by their own enterprise. The ancestors of the Poor Whites to the south and the stagnant Acadians to the north were brought over on our thoroughly enlightened modern basis of increasing the population and developing the natural resources of the country. What is the result two centuries or more

afterwards ? The descendants of the New England colonists and of those who followed them in the same independent manner have been the social and intellectual salt of the continent ever since, while the Acadian still stagnates in Louisiana and elsewhere, and the Poor White, though from the same country and of the same race as the New Englander, is the Poor White still and likely to remain so forever if left to himself. Not to go beyond our own Ontario, if we contrast such centres of thrift as the Perth or Waterloo settlements with some others that could be named which were established at much the same time, we may see what an overwhelming importance attaches to the social and intellectual quality of the colonists who lay the foundations of a new country.

How can we hold our country so cheap as we do, and make our citizenship a thing of no account, affect to despise the social and political shortcomings of other nations and yet rejoice to enrol their failures on our franchise lists, and then expect to foster, either among themselves or our new fellow-citizens, lofty ideas of patriotism ? It is impossible. That strong, modest, self-respecting patriotism, the lack of which so many of our best citizens deplore, cannot be ours together with such a cheap estimate of our country and apparently no rational estimate at all of our social and political future.

Fortunately for the social future of the country nature is more careful of it than we ourselves. By the vigour of the North-West winter the country is preserved from the overflow of Southern Europe, while the special need for brain rather than mere muscle in order to manage the fickle conditions of the West, is likely to bankrupt most of those, whether with money or without it, who have not sufficient practical intelligence to meet the requirements, and, as the North-West Mounted Police cannot absorb all the unfortunates, the rest will have to leave the country or gradually take warning not to come. The comparative failure of the Government immigration policy is indeed one of the most hopeful omens for the future of the country's civilization. This failure is especially fortunate in view of the peculiar social advantages which the Government considers this country has to offer to such Englishmen in particular as it wishes to attract.

In the official hand book to the Dominion, already referred to, as well as in other recent issues, these are the social advantages offered :—(1) No nobility. (2) Almost every farmer owns his land and may do as he pleases—a freedom unknown in older countries. (3) Local option in the liquor traffic. (4) Freedom to marry one's deceased wife's sister. (5) Religious liberty, and free and unsectarian education. (6) Paid members of parliament. (7) No pauperism ; only orphans, the helpless, and the aged to be cared for. As this represents a condition not yet realized, especially as regards unsectarian education and pauperism, we may suppose that it expresses the Government ideal of what a perfect social condition should be and thus justifies the closing sentence, "Altogether, a Canadian is able to look with pride and satisfaction upon the free and independent position which he enjoys." This seven-point charter of our social liberties is no doubt well calculated to inspire with enthusiastic longings a certain element in the population of Great Britain, but it seems to me that we have a great deal too much of that element in our population already, and anything is welcome which will keep the rest out till we get the national ideal raised a few fathoms above that level of patriotic pride and satisfaction. Not that there is anything specially wrong with most of these points in themselves, but, what a selection to make as constituting a national ideal, and, above all, as showing our superiority to the mother country !

Unfortunately there is little reason for holding merely the present administration at Ottawa as peculiarly responsible for such a philistine ideal. It is simply an indication of the unfortunate influence which certain American ideas have had upon our people, and which has only gone a step further with us in finding official expression through the Government, which again might be taken to justify Sir Charles Tupper's customary boast that we are more democratic than Americans.

However, such being the social advantages offered to the immigrants who may do us the honour to occupy our waste lands, we need not be surprised to find that they often put a very liberal construction on the freedom to do as they please, more particularly in matters connected with the Government and its property. A feature that strikes one everywhere in the West is the com-

paratively slight interest shown by the settlers in the country as a whole, and especially the sort of lofty contempt for Canadians and things Canadian exhibited by many of the English immigrants. The same thing, I observe, is remarked by travellers in Australia. These persons would seem to have taken the Government at its word, and consider that they have laid the country under obligations by condescending to come and live in it. Even the Crofters in Manitoba, I am told, express much the same sort of feeling and complain because more has not been done for them. The better class of British settlers, however, the shrewd, intelligent, self-reliant immigrants who came to the country on their own account, have neither the excuse nor the desire to hold the Government responsible for their success, and, together with similar settlers from Canada or the United States they form the intellectual and social backbone of the country. Still, the tendency to regard the Dominion Government as a kind of donkey engine for assisting the settlers in all sorts of ways, is very strong, and the organizing of various influences to operate upon the Government for special purposes expresses the chief political activity of the Territories. In a typical town in the North-West I observed that the streets had never been altered from their condition as primitive prairie. There were no side-walks, except on part of the main street. There was no water-works, no sewage system, no street drains, while the scavenging seemed to depend upon the Indians and the wind. There was no fire protection, and the Mounted Police attended to public order. Yet the town had a mayor and council and levied taxes. Discussing civic matters with one of the councillors, I asked what the town council found to occupy its attention, and its revenue. "Well," he replied quite seriously, "its chief business is to keep the claims of the town and district before the Dominion Government."

The great variety of social types in a new country like our North-West makes it impossible, as I have said, to give any single typical description of its social life. Whatever happens to be the dominant element in a locality imparts to it a kind of local flavour; but the general conditions of a new country, as well as its special climatic, physical, and other features, impart to all comers certain common qualities, which may not have belonged

to any of them before coming. Thus the great hospitality of the settlers is a very general feature, as also their mutual helpfulness under ordinary circumstances. Yet, as the isolation of new settlements is conducive to the strongest friendships and mutual assistance between persons of fairly congenial temperaments, so it greatly intensifies dislikes and disputes between uncongenial neighbours. No one who has not experienced what bad neighbours signify under such conditions, can imagine how much depends upon the human element in making pioneer life worth living. Hardly anywhere in older societies could one meet with such a variety and distinction of individual character as in some parts of the West, and this seems to be particularly the case in Alberta. It is there that the "remittance man" and several other peculiar types of Englishman, nowhere known in England itself, are to be found in all their glory. From this element and its recruits from other sections of the population, come those who assume the responsibility of keeping up the 'wild and woolly' reputation of the country. Wildness I found to be composed mainly of bluster and swagger, the chief object of which is to build up a reputation for that daring and fierceness which is supposed to characterize the western desperado. Woolliness again, consists mainly in a studied and exaggerated disregard for the ordinary conventionalities and conveniences of civilized life, a sort of reaction from the usual restraints of society, and an attempt to perfectly realize that freedom to do as one pleases of which we are supposed to be so justly proud. Although the Government assures the timid that "none of the dangers from revolvers and bowie-knives so common in the United States are known here," yet this wildness and woolliness is calculated to strike with awe and admiration the fresh arrivals from Britain who here see for the first time in actual flesh and blood and upon its native heath the famous American desperado of romance. Of course the real desperado, of which there are but few specimens in the country, is seldom if ever a blustering character. Killing is with him a serious matter, is undertaken only on very important occasions, and then with as little fuss as possible. To be sure, there is a good deal of woolliness without wildness at all, and there are all degrees and stages of each, which add not a little to the picturesqueness of some western towns.

Unfortunately the extravagance of many of the English farmers and ranchers of the West has not only brought their own enterprises to destruction, but has had a bad effect upon many of the other settlers and townspeople who have fallen victims either to that undeniable charm of manner which characterizes so many well-reared Englishmen, or to a certain haughty air of superiority which characterizes certain others, not so well reared but possessed perhaps of quite as much money. Government officials among others seem to be peculiarly susceptible to these influences and the country suffers accordingly until they are found out. The costly character of the goods sold in Alberta stores would very much astonish the merchants of much larger towns and cities in eastern Canada. Bankruptcy is the natural consequence of this extravagance, often coupled as it is with intemperance. This, again, has an important bearing upon the economic condition of the country. I was much astonished to find, on my arrival in the West, that the current rate of interest in Alberta was twenty per cent; and yet, notwithstanding such a rate, the money lenders were not particularly fortunate—some had even failed after carrying on a large business for a time. Inquiring into the matter, it did not long remain a mystery. Land is of little or no value as a security, and there is not much else in the way of real estate to fasten on. Security must therefore depend either on a personal basis or on movables, mainly cattle and horses—often found to be too easily moved—and crops which are not at all certain. Of course extravagant or reckless spending means the same in borrowing, and as this fosters dishonesty it is necessary to keep a vigilant and extended watch over one's security, which is an expensive matter. Then the frequent necessity to recover so much as one can out of the remnants of an estate involves considerable loss, so that the money lender with his twenty per cent. rate or over has not an unusual profit in the end. If he obtained a large profit he would very soon have plenty of competition. At the same time the honest settler is practically debarred from borrowing money to assist him in carrying on his work, for it would indeed be a profitable occupation which could return a surplus to the borrower over such a rate of interest. In this way does the social condition of the country re-act upon the economic, and one useless class spoil the whole country for the others. Of

course incapable settlers produce exactly the same effects as extravagant ones, and extravagance and incapacity commonly go together.

Intemperance, so often the bane of new countries, is a serious social and economic evil in the West and flourishes most naturally among the least capable settlers, though, unfortunately, it ruins also many a fine specimen of the race. Astonishment at this can hardly be expressed when one takes into account all the circumstances. There we find a miscellaneous population which has not yet organized any strong and restraining public opinion, and although there is a good deal of social distinction, sometimes of a very exaggerated and grotesque type, yet there is little or no social caste with its powerful restraint. On the whole the Government's assertion of social freedom is pretty well justified, and the individual, whatever his social pretensions, is pretty free to do as he pleases. Add to this the intensely dreary aspect of the prairie during most seasons of the year and the oppressive *ennui* of the lonely life on the plains—in the foothills life is endurable and in some places even very attractive—and one is not so much surprised that the isolated settler, and especially the lonely bachelor, should seek communion with evil spirits and endeavour to obtain from within those varied and interesting episodes of life which are denied to him from without. When, also, he makes a journey to town and meets with companions in similar condition, pent-up sense is let loose and, with the aid of strong drink, life comes to be intense and real once more. Under these circumstances the decline of many a promising young fellow in the West is very rapid and recovery extremely difficult. The gold cure is much in demand, and really seems to have wrought some astonishing transformations.

The work of the missionary in the West is not always a very encouraging one. His ways are not altogether ways of pleasantness nor his paths entirely those of peace. If the churches did not insist on sending to these people for the summer months at least, spiritual comfort and instruction, such as it is, I fear there would be few church services in the West, for the average settler exhibits no great anxiety for spiritual consolation and enlightenment. As it is, the churches do remarkably well for the country, and if, as some maintain, those who have had the greatest spirit-

ual advantages in this life must fare worst in the next in case of declining to benefit by them, then without doubt the unregenerate Indians on the Reserves have but a gloomy outlook for eternity. Possibly, however, their associations with the North-West Mounted Police may help to make things easier for them.

It would be very much to the benefit of the country if the missionary could combine with his religious and moral instruction a certain amount of intellectual stimulation. Not that the better class of settlers are an ignorant or unintellectual lot, quite the reverse, but there is little encouragement to keep up their interest in the things of the mind ; yet if these interests are allowed to stagnate or fade away there is but a poor prospect for the next and following generations. Not every missionary, it is true, would be able to minister in intellectual matters to the better educated settlers, for there are some exceptionally well educated ranchers and farmers in the West, but there is no field in which a missionary of even the humblest attainments would not be able to do valuable work. Intelligence is more essential to success in the West than anywhere else in the country, and I am thoroughly convinced that unless it is fostered and in people in whom it is worth fostering, there is no future for the country worth mentioning.

Closely connected with this is the question as to what it is possible for the people of the North-west to produce profitably. Except in Manitoba, where the matter is still doubtful, it is pretty certain, in the light of present knowledge, that the country cannot be built up on wheat for export ; and if the report of the Freight Rate Commission is to be accepted few possible exports will afford much profit. However, assuming this report to be incorrect, there is still no hope for wheat, except in some temporary spurt like the present. The improvements in marine engines, and the cheap production of steel have made possible the building of lighter, stronger, and swifter vessels, more economic of coal and hence more capacious for cargo, thus making ocean freights on the safe routes far cheaper than land freights. This shipping improvement, together with the building of railroads in certain countries, has placed immense agricultural areas in close connection with the world's grain markets, of which the chief are the British.



While the supplies offered upon the markets have greatly increased during the last few years, the amount consumed has increased but very little. In Great Britain, the chief market, the total amount of home grown wheat, imported wheat and flour consumed each year is declining, being less in 1894 than in 1890 by 628,147 quarters. As a natural consequence the price has rapidly fallen, having dropped from 31s 11d in 1890 to 22s 10d in 1894. These low prices must necessarily continue till a sufficient number of competitors are crowded out of wheat raising to cut down the supply. But, if the chief producers are able or willing to grow and sell grain at such low prices, the supply will not fall off sufficiently to affect the price. Now the great increase is coming from just such countries as are willing to produce at these low rates, namely Russia and Argentina. Though other countries are cutting down their shipments of late years, yet those two countries increase theirs so rapidly as to still overflow the markets and keep prices on the decline. In 1892 Russia and Argentina supplied 11 per cent of Britain's imports of wheat, in 1893 26 per cent, and in 1894 43 per cent. When we remember that the cost of transportation from our North-west to the British market is higher than from the wheat areas of either of these countries, it is quite evident that unless our North-west farmers are content to live a half-civilized life of the narrowest economic kind, they cannot continue to raise wheat from the day they have a surplus to sell. If, then, the Government and the C.P.R. continue to send to the North-west a population capable only of wheat raising, they are simply courting disaster. The lesson to be drawn from the signs of the times, is that Canada must promptly give up the idea of becoming a regular wheat-exporting country, and must either find new uses for its wheat at home, or cease to grow so much of it. Leaving wheat growing to the more undeveloped races, Canada may find a higher destiny for her people in producing those things which require for their production, intelligence rather than muscle, and in producing which there is therefore less tendency to overcrowding. Now the chief reason why the people of Britain do not buy even as much wheat when it is cheap as when it is dear, is that the saving they make on bread enables them to buy other articles of food, especially meat, butter, cheese, fruits, etc., thus varying their diet. These

articles are pretty sure to be in increasing demand for some time to come, and just in proportion as the standard of living rises. Even though there may be no increase in the price, or possibly a small decline, yet the increasing quantities to be taken, give room for expansion, and improved production, while in supplying most of these products, the poorer races of the world cannot compete. Such articles too, suffer less from high freight rates, than the coarser products of the land.

The question, then, comes down to this :—Can the settlers of the North-West as well as the other agricultural classes of the country successfully carry on these higher branches of farming ? Undoubtedly the best of them can, and are beginning to prove their capacity, but many others certainly cannot, and my strong contention is that the Government and the C. P. R. are increasing the numbers of the latter in their wholly mistaken eagerness to fill the country. It gives me genuine pleasure to find one point at least on which I can heartily commend the action of the Government, and that is its recent efforts to teach the farmers of Canada the advantages of dairy farming and the best methods by which to carry it on. To teach the people how to help themselves is one of the highest and most legitimate functions of a government ; while the most demoralizing and illegitimate function of a government is either to step in and do the people's work for them, as in undertaking to market their products for example, or in forcing one portion of the people to contribute to the support of another, when the others are not helpless paupers. I sincerely hope that this new line of Government enterprise may be the means of practically bringing home to the Government and the people it represents the futility of trying to build up a great people on the wholly inadequate basis of population and physical labour, and above all when these are sought for at the sacrifice of national dignity and true patriotism.

ADAM SHORTT.

## DIARY OF AN OFFICER IN THE WAR OF 1812-14.

(CONTINUED FROM APRIL QUARTERLY.)

THE *Tete de Pont*.—On the night of the 1st of May another alarm. It had certainly not taken me more than three minutes to dress and run to the barracks—our Voltigeurs had however already formed rank in the Square. Colonel\* Halkett the Commandant of Kingston arrived a few moments afterwards. He ordered me to proceed to the Centre Bridge† with 50 Voltigeurs and a subaltern and 10 men of the 10th. This time I verily expected that an engagement was at hand. It had been rumored through the day that the enemy's fleet had been seen making for Kingston; it was not unnatural to suppose that, with the object of cutting off the retreat of the debris of General Sheaffe's small army, the Americans might land troops in the neighbourhood of Kingston. We hastened to our assigned position; the roads were abominable and the night as dark as pitch.

Three miles from Kingston flows a small river still known by the name of Cataracoui, it is bridged over at three different points within one mile of each other. While I was proceeding to the Centre bridge, two other officers were being sent to the two others with detachments of soldiers. The road which the defeated army was following (and by which Sir Roger Sheaffe eventually reached Kingston) proved to be mine.

The *Tete de Pont*‡ on the town side was easily susceptible of defence. It consisted of one entrenchment lined with timbers and fascines pierced with two embrasures for cannon. The river is pretty wide at this point—its bed is very muddy and bordered with thick shrubbery.

My first care was to render the bridge impassable; I had been authorized to destroy it with axes—I contented myself with loosening the planks. In the stillness of the night the distant sound of chopping informed us that the two other bridges were being destroyed, I deferred the destruction of mine for the fol-

\*Alexander Halkett was Colonel in the Army and Lieut.-Colonel commanding the 104th Regiment, at that time forming part of the garrison of Kingston.

†This is the Bridge built over the Cataracoui Creek at the Bath road.

‡This is a term of engineering meaning works which defend the approaches of a bridge.

lowing reasons : (1) to permit General Sheaffe's retreat should he come my way that night ; (2) to prevent the enemy from collecting the floating debris with which he might make rafts and effect a crossing. My reasons found acceptance, my orders were cheerfully obeyed. A chieftain must necessarily be so clever !

The planks of the bridge were therefore loosened and left in such a way that they could at a moment's notice be removed. I furthermore directed that at the first intimation of the approach of the enemy these planks were to be piled in such a manner as to offer a protection to sharp-shooters, and in this way utilize them as a first line of defence. With the number of men I now had at my disposal this task could have been performed in about two minutes, for I must add that within a few hours my party was reinforced by the arrival of 40 militia men and 20 Indians under the Chevalier de Lorimier\*. I now placed six sentries in pairs, each 500 paces in advance of the other, while a dragoon was posted as *vi-dette* still further in advance of these, I also sent out a few Indians as scouts. During my absence on this duty Lieut. LeCouteur had attended to my instructions with regard to the bridge, 20 feet of which could be removed in the "winking of an eye." On my return to my post I placed my men in the position they should occupy in the moment of need, I then caused a few fires to be lighted, for we were drenched with rain. My command now consisted of : 1 Captain, 3 Subalterns, 10 soldiers of the 10th, 40 militia-men, 30 Voltigeur's 20 Indians. Total, 104 braves. We hadn't the two cannons, but come who dares !

I must say in praise of my small army that for the nonce the alert was considered genuine, that the best of spirit, activity, vigilance and discipline was displayed under very trying circumstances on this night, sufficient evidence of what could have been expected of them if opportunity had offered, in other words if the expected had happened. It had, however, been otherwise ordained in the "Great Book of Fate" the "Centre Bridge" over the Cataracoui would for ever remain an obscure, mean commonplace Bridge whose sole destination was to give passage to wayfarers, cattle drovers and countrymen over a dirty muddy stream ; for neither dragoon, patrol, sentry, nor scout saw the shadow of an enemy ! All my cleverness for naught ! My laurels

\*Killed the following October at the battle of Chrysler's Farm.

to the wind! Daylight found us still on the "*qui vive*" (excepting friend Tasche, who was snoring deeply, his cheek pillowed on the rounded form of a fat Iroquois. Hush! let him sleep!, Shivering with cold rather than excitement, more inclined to sleep than to laugh, we returned to the town.

"*The Voltigeurs' Camp at Point Henry.*"—After having spent 21 days in the Barracks of Kingston, 10 days in quarters prepared by us, but not for us at a Mr. Smith's, and 4 days in a camp made by us, but once more not for us, on the heights of Kingston, we were ordered by General\* Prevost on the 17th of May to cross over to Point Henry, where we now occupy tents which we again once more put up in a wilderness of stumps, fallen trees, boulders, and rocks of all sizes and shapes; sharing our blanket with reptiles of varied species; carrying out the precepts of the most self-sacrificing charity towards ten million insects and crawling abominations, the ones more voracious and disgusting than the others. Phlebotomized by the muskitoes, cut and dissected by gnats, blistered by the sand flies, on the point of being eaten alive by the hungry wood rats as soon as they shall have disposed of our provisions. Pray for us! Pray for us! ye pious souls.

Broken down with fatigue, drenched with rain, I enter my tent to find that the birds of the air have besmirched me with lime; I have no sooner sat on my only camp stool when a horrid toad springs on to my lap in a most familiar way; I cast my wearied limbs on to my couch, a slimy snake insists on sharing with me the folds of my blanket, I hastily retire and leave him in possession. Let us have supper! The frying pan is produced to fry the ration pork. Horror! A monstrous spider has selected it for his web; he holds the fort in a viciously threatening attitude in the centre of its rays, he defiantly seems to say, remove me if you dare! The flinty biscuit must be pounded and broken or one can't eat it, here again the beastly wood-bug must needs crawl under the masher, and in losing his life infect everything with his sickening odor. Oh! Captain, what can we do? exclaims my valet. *Fiat lux!* What, Sir? Light the candle, you block-head, light the candle. Let us write to our distant friends the

\*Sir George Prevost had arrived in Kingston on the 11th of May accompanied by Col. Baynes, two aides de camp and 20 Sault St. Lewis Iroquois in command of Lieut. and Interpreter, B. St. Germain. Sir J. L. Yeo arrived on the 12th with two Brigades of gun boats.

excess of our misery. O ye gods, what a place this is! The candle is lighted, it is the next moment surrounded by myriads of flying things. My table is littered with writhing abominations, June bugs hasten from all sides, they besiege the light, extinguish it under one's very nose, strike you in the eye, and as a parting shot stun you with a blow on the forehead. What a paradise this spot would be for an entomologist!

We remained in this inferno a whole fortnight, but thank heavens these very unpleasant experiences came to an end and were followed by better times. After showing you the dark side of the medal it is but right you should now be shown the bright.

When we first came to Point Henry on the 17th of May, it was covered with stumps and the ground was nothing but holes and bumps. The trees had been cut down but quite recently. With much labour our Voltigeurs succeeded in levelling their camp ground. The camp consists of two rows of Marquises, facing one broad central avenue at the head of which are our Major's quarters and at the foot a small entrenchment. On a fine day our encampment presents quite a pretty sight. The Point is high and commands the view over all the surrounding country. We can here perceive the immense expanse of Lake Ontario, on the distant horizon a few wooded islands, to the right the town and its pretty back-ground; the harbour and its sailing craft; Point Frederick, its fortifications and shipyards are mapped before us; to the left is Wolfe Island with its extensive forests dotted here and there with new settlements. Away from the town and the control of the "Big Heads," under the immediate command of an officer\* who is popular, we can hope to live here in peace, quietness and happily.

*"Corporal or Lance-Sergeant Chretien."*—Cananocoui as before stated is 18 miles lower down than Kingston; we have there a redoubt. The garrison consists of local militia and a detachment from this post. Nine Voltigeurs under the orders of Corporal Chretien were on duty there on the 14th of May, when Lieutenant Marjoribanks, R.N., in command of a gun vessel cruising among the islands, arrived and landed 30 militiamen. He had discovered

\*Major G. F. Herriot, the assistant superintendent of the Voltigeurs, a Captain seconded from Brock's regiment the 49th, distinguished himself greatly during the war, especially at Chrysler's Farm, and at Chateaugay as second in command under De Salaberry. He was born in the Island of Jersey Jan. 2nd, 1766. He became a Major-General, retired from the army and settled in Drummondville P. Q., where he died in 1844.

one of the enemy's gun boats on the river. He proposed to his men to attack this boat, but these good people thought otherwise; they were not yet I presume tired of life; they offered many objections to the lieutenants hostile and bloodthirsty intentions. The poltroon has powers of eloquence quite equal to those of the brave man; these philosopher soldiers used their rhetoric to such good purpose that the Lieutenant saw the futility of risking the attack with such a crew, and decided to land them at Cananocoui. From what precedes you may perhaps conclude that under the weighty arguments of these braves this bloodthirsty officer had yielded and had come to more humane and rational sentiments. Alas, no! you are wrong. They are case-hardened villains, these English tars; they live for knocks and thumps; they know positively nothing of our college logic, or, if they speak of it it is merely to ridicule and despise it; they affect to believe that there is more argument and sound sense in a grape shot than in the best argument. Strange people, do you say? Well, they are. Anyway, after landing his thirty rhetoricians (an epithet which our friend the officer emphatically qualified, it is said, with heavy words) he invited volunteers to accompany him on his venture, for he was still bent on the same sanguinary designs; one subaltern and 10 men of the 104th Regiment, Corporal Chretien and the nine voltiguers volunteered to form part of the expedition and were permitted to do so by Colonel Stone of the militia, who was commandant. These, with the boat's crew of six men, gave chase to the enemy's vessel, but failed to overtake her.

Feeling very sore and disappointed at the failure of this second attempt to close with the enemy, Marjoribanks had made up his mind not to return empty handed; he therefore decided to make a descent at the nearest American port, which was Gravelly Point.\* His pilot had told him that the Yankee boats repaired to the Cape every night. He conceived the evil pleasure of cutting them out by way of surprise, and his wicked followers accepted the idea with the greatest enthusiasm.

About one o'clock on the morning of the 25th of May, two countrymen were taken prisoners off the shore, and forced to

\*Or Cape Vincent. It was a small American village of about 20 houses, at the discharge of Lake Ontario. The enemy had cannon and soldiers there.

guide the marauders to the village, still a good distance off. Gravelly Point was at last reached at two o'clock. Alas! the enemy's boats were not there. A landing, however, was effected, a few soldiers of the 104th left to keep guard over the boat, and the troops, headed by Chretien, advanced noiselessly, following each other in Indian file; they reached the barracks, which stood at about 20 acres from the village, smashing in the windows and doors with their axes, they found them quite deserted. They then advanced towards the commandant's quarters without meeting the slightest resistance. A sentry was found on duty; he was told to keep quiet or have his brains battered. He managed to break away, however, taking his unbattered brains away with him. A light was burning in the officers' apartments. Chretien took but an instant to knock in the door; he was met by the officer (a major) who attempted to discharge his pistol at him (it was loaded with 20 slugs); it missed fire, however. Chretien was more fortunate; he let him have his musket charge in the stomach, laying him dead. Three other loaded pistols were found on a table, 20 cartridges loaded with slugs; there were also 2 sabres. These were the only articles the men were permitted to take away. The retreat was now ordered. When they had pushed away a good distance the Yankees, (who had run away from their barracks in a most disgraceful way even before our people had landed), now reappeared on the shore, and, for the purpose, we presume, of frightening the fishes, kept up for quite a while a desultory musketry fire. It was "*mustard after dinner.*" The two countrymen who had been seized and forced to serve as guides were then put ashore and the expedition returned to Cananocoui.

The naval lieutenant in his official report to Commodore Yeo, gave a detailed statement of Chretien's coolness and courage, together with the peril he had exposed himself to during this brush with the enemy. He further charged him to convey the despatch to Kingston. Sir George Prevost sent for him, and, besides promoting him to the rank of sergeant, presented him with the sabres and pistols looted at Gravelly Point.\*

\*Major Durham of Cape Vincent informs me that among the series of volumes known as the "Documents relating to the history of New York" are a series of papers known as the "Brown Papers," in which a very different account is given of this affair at Cape Vincent: the British are there stated to have been repulsed, with considerable loss in dead and prisoners. I have been unable to verify the American version of the affair.



*Cananocoui.*—The Cananocoui River, which draws its waters from a chain of lakes in the interior, has its discharge on the front of the Township of Leeds in the County of the same name, in the Johnston district; its mouth forms an excellent harbour—the water 12 or 15 feet in depth—and with little current. With the exception of three small portages, this river is navigable for batteaux a distance of about nine miles, when the first of its lakes is met. Its banks are as a rule steep and fringed with tall woods. It was known by the name of Thames previous to the division of the Province; the Indian name, Cananocoui, means, I am told, “where the ash trees grow.” Several fine sawmills have been erected along its course. This locality is celebrated for its healthful climate; this fact was well known to the Indians, who for generations past have been in the habit of bringing their sick here to recuperate.

About seven miles up this stream are, on both banks, quarries known by the name of “Marble Rocks.” The stone of the east bank is pure white and brilliant; that on the west bank is of various shades of green, veined with black. The white marble is of great hardness—the best file hardly produces an impression upon it—while the green stone is quite soft; it can even be worked with a knife; the Indians make their “*Calumet*” or pipes out of it. Much talc is also found in this neighbourhood. Here also and about the inland lakes are found rich iron mines, which have been worked for some years back with success. Lead and lime has also been reported. At the other end (?) of this river is a redoubt, garrisoned by a few men; Colonel Stone owns there a “fourteen saw” mill.

“*My Quarters at Cananocoui.*”—On the 27th of July, Major Heriot and three companies of the Voltigeurs were ordered to Fort George.\* On the 29th I was sent to Cananocoui, in command of a *select* detachment, made up of the culls of the corps—the old, the halt, the incapables, the cripples—in short, an assorted lot of *invalids*. Voltigeurs invalids! These words coupled together are contradictory, bizarre and non-sense, I admit, but such was the case, and, to cap the joke, my redoubt was dubbed the Hospital!

Cananocoui is pretty and quite a picturesque spot—good fishing, good sport, nothing to do—all these things are delectable,

\*On the Niagara River.

yet time hangs heavy. I am weary and as unhappy as any man can well be. I am consumed with "*ennui*." Colonel S——, Captain B——, and D——, a tavern-keeper, are the swells of this place. I keep myself to my miserable quarters, and do not associate with these great people. Like the good Lafontaine of old, I sleep part of the day and do nothing the rest; hunting and fishing is devoid of attractions for me. Would that some of my friends would drift this way. Nothing easier. Batteaux start from Montreal every day, and, when with me, should they be overtaken by "*ennui*," opportunities of return are just as plenty.

Shall I tell of the many attractions of my quarters? (1) My four poster consist of four rough planks, nailed to four uprights; it can accommodate six with ease; (2) My room has two large window sashes—my kitchen the same—but being fond of an abundance of fresh air, I have not provided the sashes with panes; here it can never be said "who breaks the glasses pays" \* for there are none; (3) To close my quarters I would need four doors; the kitchen door is stowed away in the garret—it has no hinges; two others have their panels knocked out; the fourth consists of the frame only; (4) The walls are throughout of a rich, smoky, brown colour; they are not hung with costly gobelins tapestry, but the delicate webs of my friends the spiders festoon the ceiling; nor are there artistic paintings—such decorations are not in fashion at Cananocoui; preference is shown in my apartments for drawings in chalk or coal, representing various fantastic creatures—related to the mammoth perhaps; their prototypes certainly antedated the deluge. Now come and see for yourself if I have not told you the truth, all the truth, and nothing but the truth, about the attractions of my quarters in far-famed Cananocoui. . . .

J. L. H. NEILSON.

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\* "Qui casse les vitres paye" a very common saying among the French Canadians.

FOOT NOTE.—With the exception of a few detached pages containing nothing of much interest I have now translated the best of Viger's Journal such as I possess it. I have, however, been recently told that a more complete copy, perhaps the original version, covering the period from April to Nov. 1813, including the account of Sackett's Harbour expedition, the battles of Chrysler's Farm and Chateauguay, exists among the collections of Principal Verreau of the Normal School, Montreal.

## THE CANON OF CHIMAY.

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ONE of Landor's fancies was to get Chaucer, Petrarch and Boccaccio together and make them talk; but the symposium is a failure. Landor succeeded only when the style of his characters does not challenge comparison with his own. In this instance, his puppets merely recount three stupid stories. One feels sure that both Chaucer and Boccaccio would laughingly disown their share in the transaction, as doing them too much honour. Landor had no real comprehension of the romantic temperament of the Middle Ages; and besides he missed a golden opportunity. His fancy points to a most suggestive fact. Setting aside the well-known reference to the tale the clerk "Lerned at Padowe of \* \* \* Franceys Petrark, the laureat poete," we know that young Geffray Chaucer was in the train of Prince Lionel on the occasion of his marriage to the daughter of Galeazzo Visconti in Milan in the year of Grace MCCCCLXVI. Though only "valettus noster" he would see the mature "Franceys Petrark" among the guests. The English squire may have stood behind the chair of Laura's lover at one of the feasts. The two *may* have met. At the same time, and place, there was another young clerk, from Hainault, about Chaucer's age, and social rank, who was to make the Europe of that day forever famous, Jean Froissart, the father of Humanism, the author of *Canterbury Tales*, and the chronicler of England, France, Spain, all in the same town, under the same roof, perhaps, seeing and knowing one another, holding high converse—is not the thought enough to set one dreaming?

The third of these three mightiest would have much in common with the Englishman. He had visited the nook-shotten isle, ridden through the far north, and admired English prowess so warmly, that later Frenchman have called him unpatriotic. After all, he was no Frenchman, but a Hainaulter, liegeman and *protégé* of Queen Philippa. Chaucer and he both loved the noble

profession of arms, practised the gentle arts of making love and verses, and did not shun

"A glass of wine  
That's brish and fine."

The future Comptroller of Customs with his daily pitcher of wine from the King's buttery, and the genial priest whose five hundred francs helped to keep the taverns of Restines going, must have cracked a bottle together, if they met at all. Both knew their world thoroughly, were of it, and not mere book men, students and recluses. Both loved chivalry, both had an eye for colour, and the art of telling a tale in few well-chosen words.

Froissart is indeed half an Englishman, although he had his difficulties with our ragged speech. His transformation was completed by his first and greatest translator. Only a hundred years or so after Froissart's death, at no greater interval than separates us from the American Revolution, the great book of the chronicles was turned into "our maternall English" by a man in every way fitted for his task. A soldier himself, and a learned clerk, who loved romances, John Bourchier, Lord Berners, sat down after an active life, and in the good town of Calais to literary tasks. Men of his name helped to make the history he was to render into English. He has a thorough sympathy with the sentiments expressed or implied, and an understanding of the exploits narrated, such as can spring alone from having himself performed deeds of derring-do. The result is that Froissart has always been a greater favourite in England than in France, and a much stronger literary influence. Henry the Eighth has many evil deeds to reckon for; but let it be remembered that at his command Lord Berners translated Froissart.

The merits of Lord Berners' translation have been long obscured by the supposedly more "elegant" version of Johnes. There are signs that good taste is re-asserting itself. Mr. Henry Craik disposes of the superstition regarding Johnes in his remarkable note to Berners' in his *English Prose*. And no later than last month, an abridged edition of the great work has been added to the invaluable *Globe* series of Macmillans. The names of the series and of the editor, Mr. Macaulay, guarantee its excellence; but one would like to see the edition of 1812 reprinted, with the names corrected and St. Palaye's essays and Buchon's

apparatus added. The comfortable square old quarters afford such commodious browsing ground.

Since Voltaire, mediæval has meant ignorant, superstitious, and above all, stupid. The art of the Middle Ages is remembered chiefly as grotesque and its literature as tedious. Even Chaucer still suffers from these two imputations. Froissart is voluminous, but his clear, definite incidents throng upon the reader with the unending variety and vividness of life itself. Gray thought him like Herodotus. He simply is never dull. His aim is to relate, not to moralize. As his own interest in all his tales is so fresh, he cannot be languid. He lives in Chaucer's Europe, and is keenly alive to its quick-shifting kaleidoscopic colour. This impression he gives back to us in a wonderfully direct and artless way. From the very beginning he wins our confidence by his evident anxiety to be accurate and the pains he takes to learn the exact truth of every event.

Froissart's influence in England has been curiously great, as compared with France, especially since the triumph of Romanticism. Scott praised him with enthusiasm, and his debt to Sir John is not small. The most striking modern instance of inspiration drawn from the Chronicles is *The Defence of Guinevere*. Here we meet again the familiar names of Clisson, and Manny, Bonne-Lance and Tête-Noire. The incidents of the fearful truce, when the Free Companions had it all their own way, have supplied much of the material. The sorrow, too, of that fearful time has filled the verse. The impression left is that of yearning sadness, which impresses the modern reader. Morris, however, reads this sentiment into his Froissart. He tells us indeed of the Jacquerie, of whole garrisons put to the sword, none taken to mercy, of tortures and cruel punishments. Though he does not condemn them, he is not therefore callous, any more than his age. His stern warriors, lords and knights burst into tears, and their moral sense is as high as ours in regard to treacherous dealing, the treatment of messengers or of gallant men in extremity. There is no more movingly pathetic picture in any history than Froissart's simple tale of the Calais burgesses, who adventured their lives for their townsmen. These sad things are admitted, but they are crowded to one side of the canvass; the foreground and centre are occupied with the well-ordered array of armies in

shining armour on the march, with pennons and banners waving gallantly in the wind ; or castles bravely held and boldly assaulted ; or charging knights, and men-at-arms, archers and cross-bowmen giving and taking hard blows in furious hand-to-hand battle. Like the famous terrier, Froissart never can get enough of the fighting. But he feels the seriousness of life, too, as is seen in the simple moralizing over the death of Richard the Second, which forms the fitting close of his great work. In the end one feels that his characteristic note is "Viva la joia !"

If Froissart was not an Englishman, he deserved to be. His tales of the English victories in France cannot fail to stir the most sluggish English blood. The few plain words that tell the story of Cressy can hardly be read aloud without a catch in the throat. "Whan the genowayes were assembled togyder, and began to aproche, they made a great leape and crye to abasshe thenglysshemen, but they stode styлле and styredde nat for all that ; thane the genowayes agayne the seconde tyme made another leape and a fell cry, and stepped forward a lytell, and thenglysshemen remued nat one fote ; thirdly agayne they leapte and cryed, and went forth tyll they came within shotte." It is an oft-told tale ; of battles that were lost, of battles that were won ; from Hastings to Waterloo. The different generations of the island race show the same steadiness. At Fontenoy, "On voyait les majors appuyer leurs cannes sur les fusils des soldats pour les faire tirer bas et droit." At Quebec Captain Knox noticed the contrast between the cheers of the charging French and the ominous silence of the steadfast English ranks. Characteristic also is the English pride, which every foreigner notices, "Ye Englyssheme were so prowde, y<sup>t</sup> they set nothing by any nacyon but by their owne." Hentzner records that when they see any man well made and fine looking, they say it is a pity, he is not an Englishman. There is no change in the centuries between Edward and Elizabeth ; and less than none in those that have succeeded.

Before taking leave of Lord Berners, a word should be said about the wonderful vivacity of the translation part of which is due to his original, and part to his own command of language. The recurrence of such phrases as "with bag and baggage," "stand in good stead," and the statement that the Free Companions car-

ried off everything that was not too hot or too cold or too heavy, give the page a very modern look. Sometimes the quaintness is almost comic, as when "they tooke the porter, and slewe him so *pesably* that he neverr spake word." Again the vivacity arises from the mention of picturesque detail: as that ambuscade that waited all the afternoon "in a vale among olyves and vynes." There is the whole of the sweet South in the phrase. Or it comes from the winged words that tell of some resolve or mark some desperate crisis. What can give us more insight into the spirit of the Free Companions, than the watchword of those mutinous Englishmen in Portugal? "Friends to God and enemies to all the world!" In the course of his delightful story, we come to know some of the characters intimately, and watch for their entrances upon the stage; for Manny, and Chandos, and Du Gueschin, and the Black Prince, and the great Edward himself. The gracious figures of noble ladies move in the throng of warriors like lights; the good Queen Philippa, the true and lovely Countess of Salisbury, and many more. Dame Isabel of Julliers is perhaps the most sympathetic figure of all; with her passionate love, her presents and her many letters to Lord Eustace Dambretycourt, who has left her for the perilous wars. If she be not the most engaging of all, it must be the Countess of Mountford, "who had the courage of a man and the hert of a lyon"; who seconded so well her husband's unjust claims, that when France and England made peace again, she was excepted from the conditions of the truce. Right or wrong, she wins our warmest admiration; and could she be less than loyal to her husband? The heart of her besieged city, she had the eye of a great captain for the enemy's weakness, and while the French were busy at the assault, she, at the head of a few spears, with harness on her back fell on their undefended camp. Picturesque also are those damoselles and other women whom she caused to cut their kirtles short and bear stone and pots of lime to the besieged upon the ramparts. Clear, too, as a figure in an illuminated missal, we can see her in her high window looking seaward and catching the first glimpse of the English sails coming to her rescue. Is she not the heroine of Tennyson's unnamed chronicle, the "miracle of women," that so took Lilia's fancy.

"And mixed with these, a lady, one that armed  
 Her own fair head, and, sallying through the gates,  
 Drove back her foes with slaughter from her walls."

There are tantalizing hints at other characters, who pass once or twice before our eyes, and then vanish; that unfortunate captain, for example, who "loved well the game of the chesse," and whose love of the game, and appreciation of "the goodlyest chessemens that ever I sawe," induced him to play "for the wyne" and lost him his castle and his life. The castle of Clermont was supposed to be impregnable; but a man of experience proved that it was not. And first there entered, *rampyng up like a catte*, Bernarde de la Salle, who in his tyme hadde scaled dyvers fortresses." Then, as now, there are interesting scoundrels, whom you both admire and condemn, like Aymergotte of Perigord, who after all his craft and cruelty and affectionate foresight for his family, loses his head through miscalculating the affection of a relative. We are as loth as good Sir John himself to take leave of that courteous knight who bore him company through the south of France, and who knew the history of every hill and every castle on the road. And how readily we could pardon more gossip about the author himself.

Father Prout thinks that Froissart and Chaucer must have met, as young men, at the court of Queen Philippa; and gives reins to his fancy of what they may have done. There is reason for the association of names. Few books will help us to understand Chaucer, especially in all that pertains to war and knighthood, better than Froissart, in Lord Berners' translation. We know, for instance, that the young Squire was a "looyer and a lusty bachelor," and our glossary tells us that a bachelor was an aspirant to knighthood. But how much plainer is his status when we read: "they had with them yonge bachelors, who had eche of them one of their eyen closedde with a piece of sylke; it was sayd, how they had made a vowe among the ladyes of their countrey, that they wold nat se but w<sup>t</sup> one eye, tyll they had done some dedes of armes in Fraunce; how be it they wold nat be knowen thereof." The list of the Knight's exploits seems to have been a sort of formula. "They knewe them for they had sene them before in Pruce, in Grenade, and in other



vyages.”\* So, too, the praise accorded to the Wife of Bath for cloth making. “She passed hem of Ypres and of Gaunt” seems far fet till we find the names of these two places, also a sort of formula, in Froissart. “Bare themselfe right well the war during,” “in right good poynte” “by composycion” “he was as then a lusty lover paramours,” “the noble and hardy Kyng Edward ye Thynde,” “for Sir Hewe Specer was about to *purchase* moch trouble to theym,” “to be in the Kyng’s *daunger* and his,” and “*came a great pase* towards thenglysshemen” all illustrate well-known lines of Chaucer: and though a mere chance handful, show what may be gleaned in that most attractive field. One notices, also, the habit common to both, of making transitions in the narrative very plain by such phrases as these: “Now let us leave somewhat to speak of the earle of Hainault;” “Now let us speke of the countesse his wife.” This admirable device seems to bring them both into relation with the narrative ballad poetry.

For his own sake, or for the light he sheds on history, or human life or literature, this modern Herodotus deserves and well repays the closest study. The revival of interest in him is a healthy sign.

“And if *you* meet the Canon of Chimay,” make him your companion. You will find him most attractive in the antique English vesture provided for him by the care of John Bouchier, Lord Berners.

ARCHIBALD MACMECHAN.

\* Cp. I.. p. 67.

## KINEMATICS AND THE CYCLOID.

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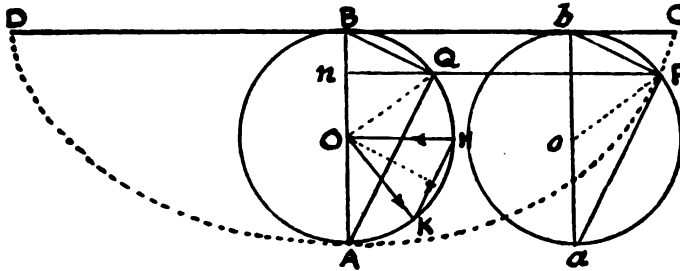
THE introduction into ordinary geometry of the fundamental definitions and axioms of kinematics would simplify many propositions in elementary plane geometry, and a few of the fundamental propositions in kinematics might often materially aid in the deduction of properties of the higher plane curves in a way especially advantageous to students of Dynamics. To illustrate my meaning: What better definition can be given of the tangent to a curve at any point than *the direction of motion at that point of a particle moving along the curve*?

Evidently at every instant the particle is moving in *some* direction, and at every instant it is at *some* point in the curve; the tangent then at any point is the direction of motion at the instant when the particle is at the point in question.

Again let us take the well-known proposition: "The sum of the exterior angles of any plane rectilineal figure, made by producing the sides successively in the same way in going round the figure, is equal to four right angles." (Euclid, Book I, Prop. xxxii., Cor. 2.) This immediately becomes axiomatic when we observe that the sum required is simply the total change of direction of motion of a particle in moving round the figure. Now, when the particle has made one complete circuit, so that at the end it is moving in the same direction as at the beginning, it must have turned through four right angles or a perigon. This treatment of the problem is indeed more comprehensive than the usual methods adopted in books on geometry, as it includes the case of polygons with re-entrant angles, for when the particle comes to the vertex of a re-entrant angle, it changes its direction in an opposite (negative) way to go along the following side, so that the external angle at that point must be taken negatively. Hence to make the proposition perfectly general, it is only necessary to state that the *algebraical* sum of the external angles, etc., equals four right angles.

It is however in the deduction of properties of curves of a

higher order that kinematics is especially serviceable. The deduction of the fundamental properties of the cycloid seems to the writer to be especially smooth and beautiful with the aid of kinematics, whilst decidedly harsh by the ordinary geometrical methods.



Let the figure represent a common cycloid, traced out by the point  $P$  in the circle  $o$  whilst the circle rolls along the base  $CD$ . The axis is  $AB$  and  $O$  is the auxiliary circle.

Let us first of all *determine the hodograph of motion of a point describing a cycloid, when the generating circle rolls with uniform speed.*

Since the arc  $bP$  equals  $bC$ , the speed\* of  $P$  around  $o$  is equal to the speed of  $o$  parallel to the base  $CD$ . Therefore if  $Q$  be the point in the auxiliary circle corresponding to  $P$ ,  $P$ 's velocity is the resultant of  $o$ 's velocity and  $Q$ 's velocity. From  $O$ , the centre of the auxiliary circle, draw the radius  $OH$  parallel to  $DC$ , and the radius  $OK$  perpendicular to  $OQ$ .

Since  $HO$ ,  $OK$  may be taken to represent the velocities of  $o$  and  $Q$ ,  $HK$  will represent on the same scale the velocity of  $P$ . Hence the hodograph of  $P$ 's motion (the locus of  $K$ ) is a circle with a point ( $H$ ) in it as hodographic pole. Since  $QK$  is always a quadrant, the hodograph is described with uniform angular velocity about the centre of the circle, viz., the angular velocity of about  $O$  or of  $P$  about  $o$ .

We can now readily deduce the following important properties of the cycloid:

1. *The tangent and normal at any point of a cycloid are parallel to the chords drawn from the extremities of the axis, to the corresponding point in the auxiliary circle.*

\*Speed denotes magnitude of velocity irrespective of direction, **velocity** connotes both magnitude and direction.

Since  $H O K$  is evidently  $B O Q$  turned through a right angle,  $Q A$  which is at right angles to  $B Q$  is parallel to  $H K$  or  $P$ 's direction of motion, and therefore parallel to the tangent to the cycloid at  $P$ , and therefore  $Q B$  is parallel to the normal at  $P$ .

If  $b o a$  be the diameter of the rolling circle normal to the base  $C D$ ,  $P a$  is the tangent and  $P b$  the normal to the cycloid at  $P$ .

2. *The length of the arc of a cycloid measured from the vertex to any point is twice the length of the chord drawn from the vertex to the corresponding point in the auxiliary circle.*

If  $q$  denotes  $Q$ 's angular velocity about  $O$ ,  $Q$ 's velocity will be  $q \cdot O K$  parallel to  $O K$  and  $P$ 's velocity  $q \cdot H K$  parallel to  $H K$ . The principal component of  $Q$ 's velocity along the chord  $Q A$  will evidently be  $q \cdot \frac{1}{2} H K$ , which is just one-half of  $P$ 's speed along the cycloid. Hence the chord  $Q A$  shortens at half the rate at which the arc  $P A$  shortens, and since the chord and arc simultaneously vanish at  $A$ , the cycloidal arc  $P A$  must always be double in length of the chord  $Q A$ .

The following beautiful result is of special interest to the student of Dynamics:

*When the generating circle rolls with uniform speed, the motion in the cycloidal path is Simple Harmonic Motion.*

Since  $o$ 's motion is uniform,  $P$ 's acceleration is the same as that of  $Q$ , viz.,  $q^2 \cdot Q O$  along  $P o$ . Hence  $P$ 's acceleration in its line of motion, i.e., along  $P a$ , is  $q^2 \cdot \frac{1}{2} Q A$  or  $\frac{1}{2} q^2 \cdot \text{arc } P A$ . Hence  $P$ 's motion is Simple Harmonic Motion about  $A$  as a centre of force in a cycloidal path.

From the general properties of Simple Harmonic Motion it is easily proved that  $P$ 's speed gradually increases from zero at the cusp  $C$  until it attains the maximum value  $2q \cdot P o$  or  $q \cdot B A$  at the vertex  $A$ , and thereafter gradually diminishes until it vanishes again at the cusp  $D$ .

D. H. MARSHALL.

## BROWNING'S INTERPRETATION OF THE "ALCESTIS."

BY JOHN WATSON.

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I SUPPOSE no competent authority would deny that of all our English poets Browning has expressed most fully the distinctive consciousness of the nineteenth century. Without attempting to characterize that consciousness in any exhaustive way, we may at least say that it involves a clearer perception of the claims of the individual and a firmer grasp of the unity of all mankind than was ever attained in any preceding century. And these two features go together: it is just because we have so high a conception of the possibilities of the individual life that we are dissatisfied with the imperfect sociality of the whole; and because we have so strong a conviction of the solidarity of the race that we are dissatisfied with the achievements of the individual. The very altitude of the ideal makes us charitable to the failures of the individual. Man has so many sides that it seems impossible for him to develop himself in all equally. Hence we find Browning giving us picture after picture of those who have not achieved, from some defect of energy, but who yet command our sympathy because the light which led them astray was after all light from heaven. We also find that no age or country lies beyond the range of his sympathies. The same problems he finds in all, though the form in which they present themselves is different. It would therefore have been strange if he had entirely passed over that phase of civilization which is represented by the great name of Greece, especially as his poet-wife was there to stimulate his interest in it. And when he turns his thoughts to Greece, it is characteristic that he devotes his attention mainly to Euripides. The *Agamemnon* of Æschylus he has indeed translated, but on the *Alcestis* and *Hercules* of Euripides he has lavished a superabundance of loving care, not merely translating them but giving us in his *Balaustion's Adventure*, which is perhaps the most perfect piece of constructive criticism ever written, and in

his *Aristophanes' Apology* a total estimate of the genius and the limits of Euripides worthy to rank with his best pictures of "Men and Women."

It is not a matter of accident that Browning has devoted so much attention to Euripides. The age of Euripides exhibits a striking analogy to our own age, and naturally therefore the poetic exponent of the one has a strong sympathy for the poetic exponent of the other. Euripides was born into a society, in which the old division of a governing and a governed class was giving way to a form of polity in which the whole body of the people directly governed themselves. He came at the close of that great flowering period of Greek civilization which succeeded the Persian wars—a period in which the human spirit developed with a rapidity and brilliancy that can never again find a parallel. The success with which Athens, almost unaided, had repelled the barbaric hosts of the Persian despot and secured forever the free development of European civilization, had given rise to a strong consciousness of the dignity of man, a consciousness which breathes in every ode of Pindar and in every drama of Æschylus and Sophocles. This intense consciousness of life had, however, a wider sweep than those writers were able to see. The Athenian citizen, called upon to deal directly with the highest political matters—to declare war and arrange terms of peace, to frame and administer laws, to provide for the education of the whole people—came to have a consciousness of the distinctive claims of the individual, a consciousness which at first had been merged in the wider consciousness of the state. The natural consequence was that custom and tradition no longer appealed to him with all the authority of a divine law. He was led to question the traditional religion and morality, and with the rise of this questioning spirit the mass of precedent which had hitherto been implicitly accepted lost its sanction and authority. No doubt this sceptical spirit was hardly felt by the great mass of the people, who always represent an earlier phase of thought, but it is displayed even by writers like Aristophanes who are ostensibly the champions of the traditional religion and the morality of custom. The age of Euripides was one of intellectual and political unrest, in which the old order was changing, giving place to new. But in it we can now discern the emergence of a wider conception of human-

ity than was ever realized, or could be realized, in the narrow municipal state of Greece. Thrown back upon himself the individual had to seek for satisfaction in something more universal than the old religious and political creed which had satisfied his fathers. He had to seek for a conception of life which should give it meaning, and he had to do so with the disturbing consciousness that his faith in the ideas of the past was gone never to return. It is obvious that the task of the poet in such an age of scepticism and disruption was difficult of achievement. Poetry is essentially such a picture of life as reconciles the individual to the conflict and sense of frustration of his own lot, by showing him that it is reconciled in a wider harmony; but how can the poet who has lost faith in the moral order of the world exhibit such a harmony? Manifestly, we cannot expect from him that full and assured conviction of the goodness of the world, which always accompanies an age of simple faith; and if in some measure he recovers his faith, it must be after a struggle and "so as by fire." The main interest therefore in the study of such a poet as Euripides is to see how far he succeeds in presenting life as worth living. He must do so by showing that, while the old ideas are lost, all is not lost; he must, in other words, show that the individual may come to be at unity with himself by following the deepest law of his own being. The destiny of man he must represent as the development in him of a true consciousness of self. And this is what, as we shall immediately see, Euripides actually does. The *Alcestis*, which Browning has "transcribed," is a picture of the development of a soul. We can thus understand how it was so fascinating to the modern poet. In Euripides Browning detected a kindred spirit, seeking to solve a problem the same in kind with that of the poet of the nineteenth century. For it is now a mere commonplace that we live in an age of transition and unrest. The tremendous advance of physical and especially of biological science; the rise of that consciousness of the claims of all men to the full development of their powers; the wide and free intercourse between all nations and the consequent liberation from individual, social and national prejudices; all these things have quickened the mind of man and suggested objections to traditional ways of conceiving the world. Of this wider consciousness Browning is the most powerful poetic exponent. How

far he has reached a theoretically consistent conception of life I shall not venture to say; nor is the question of more than subordinate interest, since the poet's philosophy must be implicit rather than explicit; but we are safe in saying that no poet of the nineteenth century has so well preserved an optimistic conception of life, or shown such intense sympathy for the inner life of the individual. It is indeed Browning's own express statement, that nothing is at bottom interesting to him except the development of a soul. We can thus understand how he was attracted to the last of the great Greek dramatists, and especially to that poem in which the development of a soul was the special problem. It cannot therefore fail to be suggestive if we look for a little at Euripides through the eyes of Browning. Before doing so, however, it seems to be advisable to say a word as to the development of Greek thought.

There has been much controversy as to the proper definition of religion. The difficulty has originated mainly from the wide and comprehensive view of religion which we now take. To comprehend in one formula Fetishism and Christianity, with all the intermediate stages of the religious consciousness, is no easy task. For if, like Mr. Spencer, we simply set aside all that characterises each phase of religion, and call the abstract remainder the essence of religion, we virtually put all religions on the same level, and reduce religion itself to the indefinite consciousness of something we know not what. Such a mode of conception seems to me quite inadequate, and in fact it fails to grasp one essential feature in religion, namely, its consciousness of a principle which gives meaning to life, and enables the individual to see beyond the failures and evil of the present. If religion does not idealize life, it is nothing, and I do not think that the idea of an unknown Reality of which we can predicate nothing but that it *is*, can help us to idealize life. I think that we must therefore say, that religion consists in the personal consciousness of a principle of Unity manifested in the world. Now, if we thus grasp the object of religion as a unifying principle, we shall have no difficulty in bringing together the various forms of religion, and arranging them in an orderly series. For that which is conceived to give Unity to existence may be more or less inadequate to do so. Hence there will be many phases of religion, according to the stage of development of the people or age. And the religion



will naturally be the counterpart of the whole life and thought of the people who profess it. Thus, in the tribal stage of society we must expect that the principal of Unity will be a tribal god; whereas, in a people that has developed a real polity—an organisation of society not based upon the tie of blood, but upon a political constitution,—the religion will express the higher Unity of this spiritual bond; while again in a people which has transcended even the bond of the state and grasped the essential unity of all mankind, the Unity must be of a correspondingly universal type. It must also be observed that the religion of a people, being the reflex of their whole life, must be expected to grow richer in content as that life grows richer; in other words, even within the same people, religion is continually in process of evolution. To fix a limit to this process would be to fix a limit to civilization. These somewhat abstract statements find their illustration in the Greek religion. The Greeks, there can be no doubt, at an early stage in their history, conceived of the divine as manifest in the shining heavens, the sun, the winds and other great natural objects. This religion they shared in common with the whole Indo-European race, and they brought it with them when they entered Hellas. The oldest form of religion in Greece was the worship of the Pelasgian Zeus, and the Pelasgian Zeus was originally the shining Heavens. But the distinctive character of the Greek religion lay in the fact that it represented Zeus and the other gods in human form, and therefore endowed them with spiritual qualities. The gods are not, as with the other Indo-European peoples, left in the vagueness and unspirituality of nature, but are conceived as definitely characterized beings in human shape and with spiritual qualities. Already in the *Iliad*, composed some ten centuries before the Christian era, Zeus, Apollo, Athene and the other gods are clear and distinct types. Yet in the *Iliad* there are distinct traces of an earlier phase of religion, in which the gods were not clearly separated from the great processes of nature. Thus Zeus is sometimes spoken of as thundering or as snowing, while in general he is conceived as a distinct moral person. Now this brings to light a point to which I wish to direct your attention. The Greek religion was in continual process of development. It has been said that Homer gave the Greeks their gods, and this statement we

may accept in so far as it means that the imagination of the poet worked freely on earlier conceptions handed down by tradition, shaping and transforming them. And this process was at work during the long interval between the Homeric poems and the Greek dramatists. We must therefore bear in mind that the religion of Greece, not being fixed in canonical books, readily lent itself to transformation. In Æschylus we have an example of this process. The poet never doubts for a moment that the gods of his nation are real beings. How, indeed, should he, when in the life-and-death conflict with the Barbarian, the Greek had triumphantly repelled the invader! Could anything more clearly show the superiority of the national gods! At the same time the plastic imagination of Æschylus works upon the mass of legendary material, and seeks to give to the idea of the gods a rational content, consistent with the higher conception of life, gradually developed in the course of ages. Zeus becomes for him the representative of the whole order of society, the divine principle which shapes all things so that order and law may be secured upon the earth. Hence all violations of that order are visited with divine punishment. Man rebels against the bonds which unite the members of the family to one another, and the divine law of the world asserts its punitive power. Yet in Æschylus this divine law is not conceived as but the law written on the heart of man, the ideal embodiment of the inner law of reason, but rather as an external law to which man must submit. Sophocles, on the other hand, taking up this conception of a divine law of the world, seeks to show that it is at bottom the law of man himself. Œdipus unwittingly violates the sacred bonds of the family, and all his struggles to escape from the punishment which inevitably follows are unavailing, until it flashes upon him that in his failure to recognize the inevitable law of the world and his defiant self-assertion, he has missed the true attitude of a finite being such as man, which consists in submission to the divine will. Yet Sophocles can hardly be said to affirm that the law of human destiny is just the expression of the inner law of his own reason, and, as a consequence, that man makes his own destiny. This conception we find partially apprehended by Euripides. For Euripides, as I have said, is the poet of the individual soul: he is interested in the inner struggle of the spirit with itself, and over

and over again he presents us with the conflict between the flesh and the spirit, the lower and the higher nature. Thus he is the most modern of the ancients. How far he fails to grasp the full meaning of that conflict we shall perhaps see in the sequel. Meantime, let us, under Browning's guidance, try to extract from the successive scenes of the *Alcestis* the meaning which they are intended to convey.

The opening scene is thus described by Browning :

"There slept a silent place in the sun,  
With plains adjacent and Thessalian peace—  
Pherai, where King Admetos ruled the land.  
Out from the portico there gleamed a god,  
Apollon : for the bow was in his hand,  
The quiver at his shoulder, all his shape  
One dreadful beauty. And he hailed the house  
As if he knew it well and loved it much."

Now, we must remember that to the Greek spectator the idea of Apollo carried with it the most ennobling associations. He was the embodiment of clear thought, pure morality and religious veneration. His worship was to a large extent instrumental in keeping alive in the Greek mind that consciousness of national unity which otherwise might have been lost. "His sanctuary at Delphi was the religious and political centre for the Greek tribes." What, however, is especially important here is that the worship of Apollo demanded above all things purity of heart ; the penitent might always count on forgiveness and illumination, the false and lying tongue could not evoke his aid. But to the Greek the mention of Admetos at once recalled the legend of the purification which Apollo himself underwent. It therefore hardly required the words of Apollo to give him a clear understanding of the situation. Euripides had rather to remind the spectator of what he already knew, than to give him new information. The legend was that Zeus slew by a thunderbolt Asklepios, the son of Apollo, while Apollo in wrath

"took revenge  
And slew those forgers of the thunderbolt,"  
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And so, for punishment, must needs go slave,  
God, as he was, with a mere mortal lord."

This is an important point, for Apollo, by his eight years' service as the shepherd of Admetus, had actual experience of the lot of man, and came to have a great compassion for his pious earthly master. Moved by this sympathy he obtained for Admetus a respite from death, should any one be found willing to die in his stead.

"But, trying all in turn, the friendly list,  
 Why, he found no one, none who loved so much,  
 Nor father, nor the aged mother's self  
 That bore him, no, not any save his wife,  
 Willing to die instead of him and watch  
 Never a sunrise nor a sunset more."

The fatal hour is at hand :

to-day

Destiny is accomplished and she dies."

The drama, then, as we now see, is one of vicarious self-sacrifice. Alcestis voluntarily undertakes to go, in her youth and beauty, down to the cheerless abodes of the dead, that her husband may have longer life. To the ancient spectator, the sacrifice of the father or mother of Admetus would not have seemed abnormal: they had lived their life and done their work, and a few years more or less—what did that matter? Admetus was the humane and pious ruler, whose death would mean so much to his people. We must no doubt allow for the Greek way of identifying the individual with the state. From the older point of view, the individual had no claims as such: his rights consisted in his duties to the commonweal. Conversely, what was bound up with the good of the whole was of supreme importance. Of this view there are many striking instances in the Greek tragedians. Thus the foundation of the tragic situation in the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus arose out of the sacrifice of Iphigenia for the success of the Trojan War. Bearing this in mind we may, to a certain extent at least, understand how Admetus, the ruler of the state, should be willing to accept even the sacrifice of Alcestis. The lesser good must give way to the greater: the life of the family to the life of the state. There is not, in his view of the matter, any conscious selfishness. Admetus, as we are to understand, has been a beneficent ruler, as he has been a pious man, in the conventional sense of that term. His subjects not only

esteem but love him, and Apollo expressly says that he was holy like himself, i.e., that he never failed to discharge his religious duties. When, therefore, the alternative is offered to him of his own or his wife's death, we may easily imagine how, like other husbands, then and since, he persuaded himself that the public good called upon him to allow Alcestis to fulfil her promise. There is no indication that, before the fatal doom of his wife, he had realized the true nature of his act. It is in fact the bitter consciousness of what he had done, and the revolution in all his modes of thought, which constitutes the central interest of the play.

*(Concluded in the next.)*

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L I F E .

She sings!

And sweet as birds in spring her song,  
 For life is young and cares are few,  
 And love is fair, and fond, and true,  
 And o'er her sky's untroubled blue  
 No shadows creep, nor motley throng  
 Of clouds, give hint of coming wrong.  
 And so she sings.

She weeps!

And fast, and bitter falls the tear;  
 For youth is gone and love is fled,  
 And all her heart's high hopes are dead.  
 —Great clouds, athwart the blue, now spread  
 Their solemn gloom, both far and near—  
 Till all her world seems sad and drear.  
 And so she weeps!

H. HELOISE DUPUIS.

Kingston, Ont.

## INVENTIONS AND INVENTORS.

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**I**T would probably not be wise to assert that no animal except man possesses the faculty of invention, for there are reasons for thinking that some of the higher classes of animals, at least, possess something, which if not the real inventive faculty, is closely akin to it. But man, whether prehistoric or historic, whether savage or civilized, in all ages and in all countries distinguishes himself as *the* inventive animal.

In the case of prehistoric man, the chief mementos that he has left us of his existence are remnants of his inventions—flint arrowheads, stone axes, and bone knives marking the presence of man and bearing testimony to his inventive faculties in palæolithic and neolithic ages. From still later prehistoric times have come down to us the remains of pile-supported lake-dwellings, of dug-out canoes, and of a variety of adaptations to the kitchen and to the chase, for, like savages the world over, the principal occupations of these primitive men appear to have been foraging for food, and then feasting and sleeping while it lasted.

No race of the present day is so low in savagery or stupidity as not to have numerous inventions, some of which, as the boomerang of the Australian, are worthy of a people of a higher grade, for in general, the character of a people's inventions is a pretty sure index of their position in the scale of civilization.

Invention is, in truth, one of the great factors of civilization, and the greatest inventors and the best inventions are to be found only amongst a highly civilized people.

We may go even further and say that invention and civilization react upon each other, and that while it is impossible to have a high degree of civilization without the freest use of the great inventions, so it is equally impossible to have great inventions realized except under the influence of a high civilization.

When we trace back any goodly river to its sources, we invariably find that it has its rise in the little purling rills, which, fed by springs, or summer rains or melting snows, come down from the higher lands and unite their currents in the larger

streams, while these streams gathered in from numerous valleys unite to form the tributaries which after miles of wanderings pour their waters into a single channel to form the river.

So with any one of the great inventions that minister to our comfort or assist in supplying our wants. It is the product and consummation of a thousand other inventions which preceded it, and without any one of which it would be less complete than it is, and without many of which it could never have come into existence.

The most cursory observation will show this. Consider the coat that covers our back, and think of the number of inventions which have aided in its construction under its present form. Consider the jenny that spun the yarn, the power loom that wove the yarn into cloth, the shears by which the garment was cut out, the thread which holds its pieces together, the sewing machine or the hand-needle which put in the thousands of necessary stitches; consider the large number of inventions necessary before the sewing machine, or the loom, or the jenny was possible—consider the inventions necessary to obtain and work the iron and the steel and the brass which enter into the construction of these machines—consider the numerous minor inventions such as lathes, drills, files, hammers, chisels, etc., which are necessities in the working and fashioning of the metals—and so on backwards until the mind is bewildered with the complexity of detail—I say consider all these things, and you then will be in a position to form some idea of the great part which invention plays in our modern civilization.

Nor is this a solitary instance. Every article of apparel from the apron of the South-Sea Islander, made of palm leaves or pounded bark, to the fine linen and plush and silk of the fashionably dressed lady or gentleman of our own land—every instrument of warfare from the knotted club or stone axe of pre-historic man to the thunder-mouthed guns of Krupp or Armstrong—every means of illumination from the smoking seal oil of the Esquimaux to the powerful electric arc—every musical instrument from the tom-tom of the African savage to the richly carved piano or the grand and melodious organ—every record of the thoughts of men from the totum of Indian tribes or the picture hieroglyphs of ancient Egypt to the printing press which

scatters its products by thousands over land and sea—all of these, and innumerable others tell us one and the same story, namely, that human civilization is to a very large extent the outcome of human invention.

It is a common saying that "necessity is the mother of invention"; or to elaborate the statement, that an invention is made when individual or social affairs have arrived at that stage in which the invention becomes necessary to the convenience or comfort or safety of the individual or the community. Undoubtedly this is often true, while it is probably as often untrue.

Thus the invention of the lightning rod, as a protection to life and property, resulted from the discovery of Franklin that lightning is electricity, and from the long known fact that the metals are ready conductors of electrical energy. Thus as long as men were ignorant of the true nature of lightning and believed it to be a deliverance from the red right-hand of Jove they felt no necessity for a protection against its destructive play. But when it was discovered to be a manifestation of a well-known form of energy, protection from its force became a felt necessity, and the lightning rod came into existence.

Many inventions, however, are not made because there is any pressing or even apparent necessity for them, but from an entirely different motive. Also the proverb that "necessity is the mother of invention" might with equal truth be read "invention is the mother of necessity."

To explain what I mean—at the time of the invention of the electric light there was no immediate necessity for the invention, as gas was plenty and cheap, petroleum was abundant, and the oxyhydrogen and other brilliant lights were available for special purposes. So that the invention of the electric light did not result from any feeling of need in human affairs. But the invention of the electric light opened up so many new avenues of work, and the light became a necessity in so many new applications and processes, as to transform to some extent our social state. In doing this the electric light created a necessity for itself, and this necessity is now so great that it would be severely felt if the light and all it has done and is doing could be relegated to oblivion.

Numerous instances might be given in which inventions did



not result from any feeling of need for the good which they brought, but which coming into existence through a different motive, have so succeeded in lightening labour, or in increasing and therefore in cheapening desirable products, or in administering to our wants or our tastes in a variety of ways, as in time to make their existence a necessity on account of the modified social order which they have brought about.

Inventions may be roughly classified into the great and the trivial, with an indefinite number occupying all positions between these limits, and in some cases it is difficult to say whether something new should be ranked as an invention or as a discovery, as large numbers of inventions and discoveries are characterized by something of each.

The greatness of an invention must be measured by the effect which it exercises in the affairs of life, or in the progress of scientific thought and discovery. In this sense probably the greatest of all inventions was the letters of the alphabet, an invention so ancient as to have its foundation in traditional myths; and next this I would certainly place the invention of the Arabic system of notation and numeration, which opened the only possible avenue to the development of the immense body of medieval and modern mathematics, an invention again of which the date and the author are totally unknown.

Of more modern inventions, the art of printing, the steam-engine, the steam-ship, the railway, the telescope, the telegraph, the telephone, etc., are justly entitled to be called great inventions; some new kind of hair-pin or boot-buttoner is a trivial one.

Some of the great inventions consist of an accumulation of invention upon invention, and have been brought to their present state of perfection only after many years of improvement, and by the aggregate work and thought of many individuals; others, of more recent date, are in their present state due to one or a few notable inventors.

Most of the great inventions are founded upon important scientific discoveries, and are illustrations of the practical applications of such discoveries. Thus the achromatic telescope took its rise from the discovery made by Dollond, that in different kinds of glass the dispersive index is not proportional to the refractive index, the proportionality being assumed by Newton and

all previous physicists. The discovery by Faraday, that if a piece of insulated wire be coiled around a soft iron bar, the wire can be made to give discharges of electricity by magnetizing and demagnetizing the bar, has been peculiarly rich as a basis of inventional applications. From it has sprung Rhumkorff's induction coil, an important scientific instrument which has been made to give a continuous stream of electrical sparks, or veritable lightning, through a distance of upwards of two feet ; the medical magneto-electrical machine, in which by turning a crank the patient can treat himself to the curative application of the wonderful fluid ; the dynamo as improved by Gramme and Siemens and others ; the electric-motor, which is a dynamo with its action reversed ; and a numerous family of smaller inventions which cluster themselves about these.

In some cases, as that of the steam-engine, the fundamental scientific principle is so ancient that no record is left of its discovery ; for in this particular case we know that the steam-engine in some form was known to Hero of Alexandria and his contemporaries about 125 B.C.

Many inventions have been as influential in the progress of scientific investigation as in the expansion of the arts, and it thus happens that invention and discovery go hand in hand and march forward with equal steps, each giving its aid to the other for the advancement of human work and the progress of human thought. But it is often the case that the name of the discoverer is enshrined in the nomenclature of that subject which contains his discoveries, while that of the inventor is lost in the oblivion of the past. Thus the names of Faraday, and Volta, and Weber, and Ohm have become parts of the nomenclature of physical science, and those of Caley and Hesse and Jacobi, and others of that of mathematical science ; while it does not appear that any such honor awaits the name of Morse or Edison or Wheatstone.

And why should this be so ? I venture the explanation that it is because of the different motives which usually actuate the discoverer and the inventor, and the consequently different effects which their labors have upon the minds and sentiments of those who see in motives something higher than mere practical results.

It was a dogma held by both Plato and Archimedes, and pretty generally assented to even to-day by men of the true scien-

tific spirit, that it is, at the least, inadvisable for scientific workers to seek to turn their discoveries to any practical use other than such as may lead to further discovery or advance the cause of scientific research. The scientific man pursues knowledge for the sake of knowing, and he reaps his reward in the mental satisfaction, arising at times to a veritable joy, which follows the making of some beautiful or important discovery. His business is not to enquire how the outcome of his work may affect human affairs, but to rest satisfied in the eternal truth that to enter into and to comprehend the ways of the Creator in this his mysterious universe must always bring to mankind good rather than evil. All that his discoveries may open up to man in the way of increased comfort, or a mastery over new forces, or a wider grasp of natural law, the scientific investigator is glad to make him thrice welcome to, for the spirit of the discoverer towards his fellow-man is one of pure benevolence.

It is doubtful how far this dogma is a proper one, and at any rate, in both ancient and modern times scientific men have, fortunately for the practical side of life, not been rigid in practising what they preached.

On the other hand, although no person will be inclined to doubt the beneficent effects of numbers of the leading inventions, if indeed of any of them, yet the spirit which in general actuates the inventor is not benevolence but the love of money. And with the exception of such scientific inventions, as have no general direct influence on public affairs, but serve only to aid in processes of investigation, an invention is made because "there is money in it." And the invention is then protected by a patent in order to cut off competition and thus to give to the inventor all the money that he can squeeze out of it.

I do not say that this is altogether wrong, for in some sense an invention is the property of him who made it, although in strict equity a greater part of some inventions should belong to the person who discovered the fundamental facts upon which the invention is based.

But if the motive of the inventor is money, it is difficult to see how from such a motive he can also expect to reap honor. Money and wealth are very necessary things in the constitution of human society, but we all know how unworthy a motive money

may become, and also that an inventor and his invention may become as grinding a monopoly as a coal-baron or a sugar-king in a protected country.

So great at times is the inventor's love of money that his description of his invention is largely an invented lie, as we see in regard to some of the smaller inventions, and especially in "patent medicines" and such nostrums as skin-beautifiers, hair-restorers, and many others. The patent medicine man is in many cases, however, a humbug, and not fit to be ranked with the noble army of inventors.

Owing to the influence which invention exerts upon civilization, it becomes important that every nation should encourage the inventor; and as he works usually with a money object in view, it is necessary that he be in some way protected; for the laborer is not much inclined to work who feels that he may be unjustly deprived of all or a portion of his wages.

But taking the whole community into consideration, is a patent the best way in which to reward the inventor?

The health of a city is all-important, and cleanliness is one of the great adjuncts to health. For this latter purpose there should be furnished a plentiful supply of pure water to every household, and especially to those dwellings which are illy ventilated and poorly drained. But if the city places its water supply in the hands of a money-greedy company or raises its water rate so high as practically to deprive the poorer classes of the power to respond, it defeats its own purpose, the very purpose for which the water supply has been provided.

So in regard to an invention that might have a beneficial effect on civilization. By granting it a patent you not only restrict its influence for the common good by raising the price of the patented article or process beyond the reach of the masses, you also prevent action in others who might have been thinking along the same line of invention, and who, influenced by more benevolent motives, might have given their invention for the good of humanity; and in this way a patent may, if it does not always, retard to some extent the advances of civilization.

It appears to me that a better way would be to have an invention submitted to a committee of experts, and if they, in their report, regarded the invention as being of marked advantage to

society, the invention should be given to the public and the inventor should receive a pension properly adjusted in relation to the importance of the invention.

I am aware that such a system might be open to grave abuses unless carefully and honestly worked, but they could not possibly be greater than the abuses existing under the present system, in which many a real inventor whose name should be a household word has died in penury and obscurity, while those who have taken advantage of his poverty to rob him of his invention, have entered into the possession and enjoyment of that to which they never had the shadow of a right in equity.

As already said, invention is a potent factor in civilization, and the great inventions, and probably the majority of the smaller ones, have a civilizing tendency, and are humane in their general effects. Thus even inventions such as gunpowder, sharp-shooting rifles, Armstrong guns, mitrailleuses, ironclads, and all other munitions of war come within this description, inasmuch as they tend, not only to lessen the mortality in individual battles, but also to bring to a speedy termination such wars as appear to become necessary from time to time; for it appears as yet that war is one of the necessary civilizing forces in this perverse world.

Thus in the war of Jugurtha against the Cimbrii in 101 B.C. we are told that about 140,000 of the enemy were left dead upon the field. Nothing like this fatality has occurred in modern times and with all our modern warlike appliances. In fact the final tendency of warlike inventions is to do away with war, and whether or not the time shall ever come when men shall beat their spears into pruning hooks and their swords into ploughshares, everything which tends towards such a consummation must certainly contain some good.

Those who, for any length of time, have followed the records of the Patent Office of any great country, such as the United States, will tell you that not much over ten per cent of all the patented inventions ever come into public use, and not much over one per cent outlive a few generations of people, while probably not more than one in a thousand are of such significant importance as materially to influence public affairs and determine to any great extent the course of future advancement; and yet many of the smaller inventions may be eminent successes for a shorter

or longer time until superseded by something else ; and possibly the great majority of them, whether successful for a few years or a few decades, exert some influence in shaping the line of development of a people. For invention begets invention, and without some of the smaller ones the greater ones could not have been ; and the country in which invention is appreciated and encouraged, although it may have many inventions of very small account, will certainly never lack the more important ones.

From a financial point of view, the small inventions are upon the whole as profitable to the inventor as the larger ones are, although it is often the case that one is compelled to wonder why certain inventions are made, or if the inventor, actuated by the usual motive, expected his invention to add anything to his income.

Thus we are told of a certain Marquis of Worcester who invented a little ball which when put into a person's mouth would forthwith shoot out so many bars and bolts that the person could neither close his mouth or remove the ball. The purpose of such an invention it is difficult to conjecture, unless the Marquis was some old-time dentist who was determined to keep his patients' mouths open, or unless he had a scolding wife and invented this means of reducing her to silence.

This invention of the Marquis' brings to mind an invention of the Esquimaux of North America, employing somewhat similar principles. The Esquimaux hunter takes a piece of elastic wood, or better of whalebone, about six or eight inches long, and makes the ends into sharp points. Then bending the piece so as to bring the points together, he fastens it in this position by freezing around it a quantity of seal or walrus fat, which in the winter of Greenland is soon effected, and thus fashions the whole into a smooth ball. This is placed in the way of the polar bear who seizes upon it as a delicate morsel and swallows it whole. Once in the brute's stomach, the whalebone, soon straightening itself out, pierces the stomach and kills the animal in a few hours.

Another inventor, having the welfare of the ladies in view, produced a parasol-holder which when fastened in some way to the shoulders of the dress, left both hands free. When it became necessary to change the position of the parasol, as upon turning a street corner, a single pull upon a properly arranged cord would

bring the parasol into the wind, or rather into the sun, something like the main-sheet of a well-rigged yacht.

Judging from the fact that this invention has never come into general use, one would infer that the ladies did not appreciate this inventor's humane efforts in their behalf.

Whether the Marquis patented his invention or not I never knew, but the parasol man certainly patented his, and he is probably the only one who knows its real effect upon the state of his finances.

The progress of invention must be dependent to a very great extent upon the progress of discovery. Thus if it were possible to discover some material which possessed the property of being unaffected by the magnet, and yet of being impermeable to magnetic action it would be possible to construct *the perpetual motion*. Many persons have, in vain, sought for such a material; and as the perpetual motion is, according to the physical law of the conservation energy, an impossibility, we must conclude that the discovery of such a material as the hypothetical one referred to must also be an impossibility.

One of the great desiderata of the present day is to get some means of producing a brilliant light without any very distinguishable amount of heat. In this case, however, it is feared that, although the solution of the problem is a possible one, the inventor will have to wait until very much further progress is made by the scientific discoverer.

And finally, the progress of invention is to a considerable extent due to the ability of the mechanic to put the inventor's ideas into material form; and thus the gradual improvement of practical mechanics is a necessary element in the progress of modern invention. To such an extent, in fact, has invention reacted upon mechanical processes, that the nineteenth century differs from the eighteenth as much in its mechanical possibilities as in its wealth of invention or in its remarkable scientific discoveries.

N. F. DUPUIS.

## BOOK REVIEWS.

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*The Expositor's Bible.—The Book of Daniel.* By F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S. *The Book of Ezekiel.* By the Rev. John Skinner, M.A. Hodder & Stoughton, London. Fleming H. Revell Co., 140-142 Yonge Street, Toronto.

These two volumes of the Expositor's Bible are up to the average of their predecessors. That is high praise, for taking the series as a whole, 1887-1895, there are no English Commentaries equal to them in soundness and breadth of view, in thorough workmanship and in sympathy with all that is good in modern scholarship and methods. Dr. Farrar's exposition is characterized by his well-known exuberance of language and literary and historical illusions, and by the impetuous vehemence with which he supports his own views and pours contempt on all opponents. Mr. Skinner, the Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the College of the English Presbyterian Church, holds generally the same critical position, with regard to the origin and perspective of Hebrew literature, as the Archdeacon of Westminster, but he calmly assumes the new positions, instead of defiantly shouting them aloud and girding at the traditionalists in almost every chapter. For more reasons than one Professor Skinner's is the better way. Biblical criticism is of little use except in as far as it enables us to understand and to appropriate, for the conduct of our own lives, the spiritual contents of the Bible better than our fathers did. If it has enabled us to do that, then modern preaching will be richer and even more helpful to the people than that to which we listened in our youthful days. But, if it only puffs students up with conceit, it has done them harm instead of good. Instead of feeding the flock, they will only stifle them—as Marget Howe put it—with the chaff and dust of the threshing mill. On this point Ian McLaren's wisdom is worthy of Solomon:—"When the Minister (Carmichael) blazed into polemic against the bigotry of the old school, the iron face (of Lachlan Campbell) quivered as if a father had been struck by his son. Carmichael looked thin and nervous in the pulpit, and it came to me that if new views are to be preached to old-fashioned people, it ought not to be by lads who are always ready and in-



tolerant, but by a stout man of middle age, with a rich voice and a good-natured manner. Had Carmichael rasped and girded much longer, one would have believed in the inspiration of the vocal points." But, while it is reverent and most reasonable, in dealing with the people whose sole desire is for spiritual food and guidance of life, always to remember that the mechanism of Scripture is secondary to the end at which Scripture aims, and that the preacher has only to do with that which is primary, it is otherwise in dealing with the Scribes who—by misleading the people as to the issues involved in modern criticism—bewilder and anger them against scholars and lightgivers, and who thus "shut the Kingdom of Heaven against men; entering not in themselves, neither suffering them that are entering in to enter." How melancholy, for instance, the contrast now between the state of things in the Old Country and in the United States. In the Republic the extreme censures and punishments of the Church are inflicted on men like Dr. Briggs and Dr. Preserved Smith, and for what offence? Simply for accepting truth which is accepted by every scholar of weight in the Presbyterian Churches of England, Scotland and of the whole continent of Europe, and which is actually taught not only in a popular series like the Expositor's Bible, but even in the Cambridge Companion to the Bible, a series specially prepared for Sunday-school teachers and the laity. When a Church persecutes its great men, the men who are God's choicest gifts to it, the evil unfortunately is not confined to the two or three individuals who may be—according to what is permitted by the spirit of different centuries—either physically or spiritually racked and tortured. It extends to the hundreds who are frightened away from study or cowed into silence, and to the thousands of the poor sheep who "look up and are not fed." The Church as a whole is thereby doomed to sterility.

Farrar on Daniel is a very readable book. Its very outspokenness and repetitions perhaps make it the more helpful to the average layman, who probably has been wont to regard it as the most wonderful of all the Old Testament prophetic books. Does he not find it in his English Bible, in the very heart of the prophetic Canon, binding the so-called major and minor prophets together? He has no knowledge that it was torn out of

its proper place and put there in comparatively recent times, by men whose reverence for the Hebrew Bible should have prevented them from taking such an unwarrantable liberty. The good men took the liberty none the less, for what will not man do, affirm or deny in deference to theological prepossessions? The Scribes who compiled the Old Testament into its three divisions never dreamed of putting Daniel with the prophets, and that fact alone shows that it could not have been written in the sixth century before Christ. In the Hebrew Bible we still find it among "the remaining books" which were appended to the Psalms, the great book of the third division, and in the very last sub-division of the books the inspiration of which was considered to be far beneath that of the Law and the Prophets. The arguments to prove that it was written about 167 B.C. by a gifted anonymous author, "who brought his piety and his patriotism to bear on the troubled fortunes of his people" at that terrible epoch are simply overwhelming.

Doctor Farrar is indignant at the insinuation so frequently made "that inability to accept the historic verity and genuineness of the Book arises from secret faithlessness and antagonism to the admission of the supernatural." But he should be above making any reference either to such insinuations or to such coarse appeals to the ignorant as "Then the book must be a forgery," "an imposture," "a gross lie" and so forth. Controversialists in the 16th Century did not think it wrong to poison the wells, or—according to well-approved Chinese methods—throw mud and stink-pots at their enemies. But those modes of warfare are not appreciated now save in a few high ecclesiastical circles. Men who have no conception that the imagination may legitimately construct moral legends or weave stories out of dim traditions of the past for highest use in the present, and that the Spirit of God may use that form of literature as readily as any other, and who are also ignorant of the inveterate tendency of Jewish teachers to convey doctrine by concrete stories and illustrations, on the principle that "the doctrine is everything, the mode of presentation has no independent value" are impervious to argument. The example of the Saviour—for the stories loosely strung together in the Book of Daniel are comparatively rude extensions of the parabolic form of teaching afterwards consecrated by Him—

might give them food for thought or at any rate cause them to moderate their tone. Since He has failed to teach them, no one else need hope to succeed.

Let us, however, always understand that the truly inspired man is he who sees "into the open secret" of the actual universe; who has insight into the very heart and soul of the multitudinous events which are taking place in the world around him, while other men are blinded by their glare and stunned by their noise, or misled by superficial appearances and by false prophets; who—in the spirit of Christ—discerns "the signs of the times" and declares to an angry world that its interpretations are wrong, and that the long-expected day of the Lord will be darkness to them instead of light, but that notwithstanding the counsel of Jehovah standeth sure and that His purposes shall certainly be accomplished. The prophet therefore invariably sees the present with absolute accuracy. He is also quite sure as to what the future will bring forth. But, dwelling on a high mount, where time and space are dissolved in the vision of God, he sees with other eyes than ours. It "is not given to him to know the times and the seasons, which the Father hath set within his own authority." To give him that power would be inconsistent with the free will of man. It is therefore vain to expect from him predictions of the exact order of coming events, according to days or years as counted by man. We must look to sooth-sayers, monthly prognosticators and spae-wives, for that sort of thing. All the prophets expected the times of Messianic blessing to come in their own day or immediately afterwards. So it seemed, in the foreshortening of the pictures presented to their glowing imaginations. Were they deceived then? No, verily. They were simply seeing with the eyes of Him to whom a thousand years are as one day and one day as a thousand years.

I conclude this necessarily brief notice with Dr. Farrar's testimony to his own appreciation of the Book of Daniel. It would be that of many others, who have been long repelled from it, as from the Book of Jonah, when they were told that they had to choose between accepting it as literal history or throwing aside the whole Bible on the principle of "*falsus in uno falsus in omnibus*." He says:—"It has never made the least difference in my reverent acceptance of it that I have for many years been

convinced that it cannot be regarded as literal history or ancient prediction. Reading it as one of the noblest specimens of the Jewish Haggada or moral Ethopoia, I find it full of instruction in righteousness and rich in examples of life. That Daniel was a real person, that he lived in the days of the Exile, and that his life was distinguished by the splendour of its faithfulness, I hold to be entirely possible. When we regard the stories here related of him as moral legends, possibly based on a ground-work of real tradition, we read the book with a full sense of its value, and feel the power of the lessons which it was designed to teach, without being perplexed by its apparent improbabilities, or worried by its immense historic and other difficulties. G. M. G.

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*Elementary Physiology.* By Foster & Shore: Macmillan & Co.

*A Text-Book of Physiology.* By Dr. M. Foster. New edition, complete in one volume. Macmillan & Co.

The first of these books is, as the name indicates, an elementary text-book, and is intended as an introduction to the serious study of physiology. Though written entirely by Mr. Shore, the fact that it bears the name of Dr. Foster as joint author will give it an introduction to the scientific world that it could not otherwise get.

Of Dr. Foster's larger work little need be said. This edition is really his large five volumed book revised and condensed so as to bring it within the compass of a single moderately sized volume. The condensation has been achieved by cutting out all the parts on histology. There are many excellent separate works, such as Stirling's, on this subject, and the physiologist who writes a text-book nowadays on physiology should no more be expected to make it a text-book on histology than one on anatomy. Dr. Foster has also unified the work as a whole by omitting all those theoretical discussions in the larger book which made it read like a succession of articles from the *Journal of Physiology*. Not that he has excised all theory; there is still plenty of it; but it is here restrained and kept in its proper perspective in relation to the rest of the book.

K.

## THE COLLEGE.

### REPORT OF THE PRINCIPAL TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES FOR YEAR ENDING MAY 1, 1895.

#### NUMBER OF STUDENTS.

The following table gives the numbers in the different Faculties for the last three years:—

	1892-3	1893-4	1894-5
Undergraduates in Arts . . . . .	214	258	260
Extra-murals in Arts . . . . .	38	33	67
General Students in Arts . . . . .	25	31	38
Post-Graduate Students in Arts . . . . .	13	15	25
Undergraduates in Law . . . . .	4	4	3
"    Theology . . . . .	25	27	33
"    Medicine . . . . .	124	107	125
Students in Practical Science . . . . .			5
<b>Total</b> . . . . .	<b>444</b>	<b>475</b>	<b>556</b>
Or, allowing for double registrations . . . . .	432	456	533

Several points in this table are worth noting. The decrease in the number of medical students in the year 1893-4 was due to the closing of the Kingston Women's Medical College. Our increase last session was chiefly in extra-murals and in post-graduate students. With regard to the first class, Queen's is—so far as I know—the only University in Canada which has put this means of systematic study within the reach of those who—after matriculating—are unable to proceed to a degree, by attending College classes. After a few oscillations—due to the discovery that the difficulties of University extra-mural study are very great—this class has increased so markedly that it is evident that our action has met a real want. Besides the direction which the Professors give, special correspondence-tutors are appointed, extra fees being charged for this form of assistance. The increase in the number of post-graduate students is also gratifying. There could be no better proof of the confidence with which the staff is regarded by the best students than the fact that they return to the old halls, after graduating, to pursue their studies further. From this class of men, the best results can confidently be looked for.

I would also call attention to the fact that our class-room accommodation is now all but taxed to the utmost. Should the present rate of increase go on, we must soon build or exclude all but fully matriculated students or over-crowd the class-rooms.

## DEGREES CONFERRED.

At Convocation, the following degrees were conferred in course :—

In Medicine—M.D., C.M.....	25
In Theology (3 Testamurs and 1 B.D.).....	4
In Law (LL.B.).....	3
In Arts (47 B.A., and 16 M.A.).....	63
	<hr/>
	95

Last year the graduating class in Arts numbered 44, and it was the largest Queen's ever sent out. This year the number is 63!

In addition to the Degrees in Course, four honorary degrees were conferred. The Senate adjudged the following gentlemen worthy of the honour of LL.D.: His Excellency S. J. Way, acting-Governor of South Australia and Chief Justice of the Colony; George McCall Theal, Historiographer of Cape Colony, Capetown; George Christian Hoffmann, of the Geological Survey, Ottawa; and Robert Vashon Rogers, B.A., Q.C., Kingston. The conferring of degrees, *honoris causa*, on representative men of Australia and South Africa was intended by the University to mark its sense of the importance of the Intercolonial Conference which was held in Ottawa last July.

## SCHOLARSHIPS.

We have some Matriculation Scholarships, but not one open to our 390 students in Arts. There is perhaps no University in the world so poorly off in this regard.

## SCHOOL OF MINING AND AGRICULTURE.

The success of this School is most marked. In mining education, it has initiated three extensions quite new to Canada :—the holding of classes at the School, for the benefit of prospectors, during the months of January and February; the sending of a member of the staff to outside mining centres, that the School may be taken to many who cannot come to it; and the establishing of a Mining Laboratory, for testing large samples of ores. Other experiments are contemplated. A Dairy School has been in operation during the past winter, attended by 115 students. All arrangements have been made for starting a School of Veterinary next October.

## THE NEW FACULTY OF PRACTICAL SCIENCE.

Your action in establishing this new Faculty last year has been vindicated already, thanks to the energy and wisdom of the Dean, whose report is appended, and who—if properly supported—will make this branch of the University all that the country requires. Two rooms have been fitted up for it, in the basement, at a very moderate expense, one for teaching, the other as a workshop. The Dean asks

in his report for an instructor to superintend the workshop, and as the fees will probably meet the additional expense, there need be no hesitation in giving him authority to look out for and appoint a suitable person. But, it is also necessary to secure without delay a Professor or Lecturer in Electrical Engineering, and this appointment cannot be made, until some one interested in the new Faculty will guarantee the salary of a thoroughly qualified man. Professor Dupuis is not receiving a dollar for all the time and thought he is giving to this work. Surely the friends of Queen's and those who know how much the young men of Canada need the best practical training will strengthen his hands.

Very special thanks are due to Professor R. Carr Harris, of the Royal Military College, for his services as instructor in Civil Engineering. When one who is at the head of his profession, gives his services gratuitously, the debt is great. The amount of work done, from mere love of Queen's, is indeed remarkable.

#### MEDICAL FACULTY.

This Faculty deserves help, for it is helping itself and the cause of medical education with the utmost vigour. Finding that no practitioner can possibly give the required time to such studies as Pathology and Bacteriology, and recognizing their increasing importance, the Faculty has set aside a sufficient sum for the salary of a Professor, and they recommend for the chair Dr. W. T. Connell, a very distinguished graduate of 1894. The new building, which the Governors of the Hospital were enabled to erect out of the late M. Doran's legacy, is admirably equipped for gynecological cases, and its record—since it was opened—is said to be unexampled, as regards the large percentage of successful operations. One of the staff, Dr. K. N. Fenwick, has also undertaken to erect an operating theatre, and the students of next Session will have the benefit of this new building. Professor Knight's report, appended, will show the improvement as regards Animal Biology, and I would recommend that he be empowered to appoint a Fellow to assist him in Laboratory work.

Additional apparatus is required, and I now appeal to those medical graduates who have not yet aided me in equipping the Physiological, Histological, Pathological, and Bacteriological Laboratories, to come to my aid, with small or large gifts. The fund raised two years ago is exhausted, and I have promised further improvements, to cost about \$300.

#### FACULTY OF THEOLOGY.

In my report of last year, I pleaded for an additional Professor in this Faculty, pointing out that one could be secured if the General Assembly's College Fund were increased \$1,000 a year, and if the offer of Mr. Hugh Waddell bore fruit, but there has been no response.

In the meanwhile, we are taking what advantage we can of the Professors in the Arts Faculty, whose subjects bear most directly on Theology. The truth is that literature, philosophy and sociology might well be included in a Faculty of Theology, and that the rigid distinction so commonly drawn between the two Faculties, because the State is supposed to include the one in its sphere and the Church is understood to claim the other, is quite misleading. But, after all, it is melancholy to have a University, which includes a Faculty of Theology, without a Chair of Church History.

The Conference of the Theological Alumni brought out clearly how much our ministers are interested in the highest work done in the Faculty of Arts. The programme drawn up by them for next February is another illustration of this. I give it in full, for the benefit of those who wish to prepare themselves for taking part intelligently in the Conference:—

*Forenoons.*

- I. The Chancellor's Lectureship. Professor Watson on "The Philosophy of Religion of Kant and Hegel."

Books recommended to be read :

- (a) Kant—Caird's Critical Account of the Philosophy of Kant ; Vol. II., Book IV., Chapters I. and II.
- (b) Hegel—Caird's Hegel (Blackwood's Philosophical Classics). Sterrett's Studies in Hegel's Philosophy of Religion.

- II. (a) Present-Day Problems of Canadian Preaching. Discussions opened by the Principal.

Book recommended to be read : Sanday on Inspiration (Bampton Lectures for 1893).

Papers to be written and sent in by Rev. D. J. Macdonnell, B.D., and Rev. James Bennett, B.A.

- (b) Other Present-Day Problems of Ministerial Work. Papers are invited on this subject, to be sent to the Principal by Feb. 1.

*Afternoons.*

- I. Sociology and Economics (under the guidance of Professor Shortt).

- (a) General view of Socialistic Schemes (J. Rae). Paper by Rev. John Hay, B.D.
- (b) Introduction to the Modern Industrial System (A. Toynbee). Paper by Rev. Salem Bland, B.A.
- (c) Problems of Poverty (Hobson). Paper by Rev. John J. Wright, B.A.
- (d) Problems of To-day (R. T. Ely). Paper by Rev. M. MacGillivray, M.A.



The following are also suggested: General Principles of Economics (J. L. Laughlin); Modern Political Society (F. C. Montague, P. Leroy-Beaulieu); Development of the Labor Problem (L. Brentano); Money and the Mechanism of Exchange (P. W. Jevons); Monopolies and the People (C. W. Baker); Social Diseases and Worse Remedies (T. H. Huxley).

## II. Social Reunions of the Members of the Conference, with visits to the Library, the Museum, and the new Laboratories.

### *Evenings.*

The Old Testament Conception of God. Rev. Dr. G. M. Milligan.  
Influence of Rome on Christianity. Rev. J. A. Sinclair, M.A.  
Influence of Greece on Christianity. Professor McNaughton.  
The Apologetic for the Times. Professor Ross.  
The Present Position of O. T. Historical Criticism. Professor Mowat.

### UNIVERSITY EXTENSION.

The February Conferences are a form of University Extension. So is our extra-mural system. So are the evening lectures given every winter by the Professors.

In addition to these, Professor Shortt held classes in Political and Economic Science at two centres in Alberta, last Summer, of which I need say nothing, as he has given an account of them in the Quarterly.

### BENEFACTIONS RECEIVED DURING THE YEAR.

In last year's Report, I stated that \$6,500 of the Doran bequest had been paid. The Treasurer has received since a further sum of \$7,500.

The legacy of \$2,000, left by the late Mrs. Elizabeth Malloch, has also been paid.

The Honourable Senator Gowan, LL.D., has sent another donation of \$450 towards the fund which is slowly accumulating to endow a Memorial Lectureship, on Political Science, bearing the name of the late Right Honourable Sir John A. Macdonald.

The Rev. Dr. Smith will give, in his report, a full statement of all sums collected by him. The Treasurer has handed to me the following list of sums of \$100 and over received during the year through Dr. Smith:—

R. H. Klock & Co., Mattawa.....	\$ 125
John Sproat, Mansewood.....	100
Joseph Kells, Sunbury, Storrington .....	100
John C. Jamieson: Picton.....	100
Mary E. Heron, Ashburn.....	100

Professor Dupuis will acknowledge, in his report, which is appended, the benefactions received for the Faculty of Practical Science.

### RECOMMENDATIONS.

We have now a Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, and a Dean of the Faculty of Practical Science. A Dean is still more needed in the

Faculty of Arts, to co-operate with the Registrar in disposing of applications which are made in the intervals between Senate meetings, to arrange the business for the Senate, and to attend to various matters which in the past the Principal has been obliged to look after.

The increase in the amount received from fees enables me to recommend the appointment of an additional Fellow in Moderns, and the granting of the Librarian's request, set forth in his report.

## CONCLUSION.

I submit herewith the Reports of the Treasurer, of the Dean of Practical Science, of the Professors of Botany, Animal Biology and Physics, and of the Librarian, the Curator of the Museum, and the Superintendent of the Observatory.

G. M. GRANT, *Principal*.

*Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for year ending 2nd April, 1895.*

## REVENUE.

Temporalities Board .....	\$ 2,000 00
The Professors, Beneficiaries of Temporalities Board .....	1,050 00
Kingston Observatory, Grant from Government .....	500 00
Rent of Drill Shed .....	300 00
Rent of Carruthers Hall .....	1,250 00
Rent of Grounds .....	130 00
Chancellor's Lecturerhip (2 years) .....	500 00
Fees, Class and Graduation .....	\$ 4,018 71
Fees for Examinations, Libraries, &c.....	3,995 02
	<hr/>
	8,013 73
Interest on Mortgages and other Securities .....	19,822 93
General Assembly's College Fund .....	2,964 64
Receipts for Scholarships .....	3,310 74
Interest on Jubilee Fund Subscriptions .....	5,175 57
Balance Deficiency .....	12,734 06
	<hr/>
	\$ 57,751 67

## EXPENDITURE.

Deficiency, 1893-4.....	\$ 13,260 52
Salaries—Professors and Lecturers in Theology .....	7,230 00
" Professors and Tutors in Arts .....	23,900 00
" Other Officers.....	2,155 00
Chancellor's Lectureship (2 years) .....	500 00
Insurance .....	153 00
Expended on Examinations, Library, Laboratories, Museum, &c.....	4,484 21
Expended on Practical Science Department.....	441 70
Taxes, Repairs and Grounds.....	524 53
Scholarship Account .....	3,310 74
Travelling Expenses.....	116 00
Advertising, Printing and Stationery .....	886 05
Fuel, Water and Gas .....	632 25
Contingencies.....	157 67
	<hr/>
	\$ 57,751 67

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, KINGSTON, 27th April, 1895.

Examined and found correct.

J. B. McIVER,

*Treasurer.*

J. E. CLARK, }  
D. CALLAGHAN, } *Auditors.*

## REPORT ON FACULTY OF PRACTICAL SCIENCE.

During the past Session we made a beginning in Practical Science courses. There was unavoidable delay in commencing some portions of the work, particularly so in practical mechanics. To fit up a workshop completely requires experience arising out of the wants which crop up from time to time, and even though the major machines might be furnished forthwith, yet the shop could not be complete in its equipment until actual work in it had gradually pointed out the deficiencies.

It is in this incipient state that we are at present, and although we are supplied with many of the larger and most important tools, we are not as yet in possession of many of the smaller, but frequently fully as important ones. We have two very good lathes, one of Birmingham manufacture, with a stock of appliances, and one celebrated Barnes lathe, obtained in exchange for the boiler which so long graced the rear approach to the main building. These form two important articles, but they would be of little use without power to drive them. Through the solicitations of that friend of science, Mr. A. T. Drummond, LL.B., Montreal, the Canadian General Electric Co., of Peterboro', very graciously presented us, through Mr. Fred. Nicholls, with one of their three horse-power motors, and the Superintendent of the Kingston Light, Heat and Power Co., Mr. B. W. Folger, kindly agreed to give us free power.

We are now under obligations to several other well-wishers of the new departure in this city. Mr. Sears presented us with an anvil, Mr. A. Strachan gave us ten dollars' worth of tools from his shop, and Messrs. Dalton & Strange have agreed to do the same, whenever we require tools or other appliances which they can supply, while Mr. Birkett, of the Canadian Engine Works, has kindly presented us, from his planing mill, a stock of dressed lumber such as will be required in various constructions in wood-work wrought out by the students. Mr. A. Cameron, Mr. Wm. McCartney, jr., and Elliott Bros., who were engaged in preparing our rooms for occupation, contributed respectively the following amounts: \$9.50, \$5.00, and \$5.00.

But our thanks for help received must extend beyond our own city, and in one instance beyond even our own country. At the request of Rev. Dr. Milligan, Messrs. Rice, Lewis & Son, of Toronto, gave us twenty-five dollars worth of tools and appliances, and Mr. Jeffrey, of the same city, supplemented a pretty long list out of his own hardware house.

Through Mr. Drummond also, Messrs. Alexander McPherson and Mr. Leslie, of Montreal, supplied us with a variety of vises and other

articles; Mr. J. M. Gill, of the James Smart Manufacturing Company, of Brockville, has been especially kind in not only giving us freely of such articles as he manufactures, but also in supplying a number of fine castings, destined for the construction of special pieces of apparatus, to supplement the tools and machines already in the workshop.

Of presents which serve the purpose of models, we must not omit to mention that from Messrs. Kennedy & Sons of Owen Sound, of one of their valuable six-inch turbine water-wheels, such as are being used at the Niagara canals. But, leaving our own country, we have especially to thank the Buffalo Forge Company for the presentation, through Mr. Sears, of one of their best portable forges.

Of the larger machines more particularly needed at present, is a modern shaping machine of moderate size, and we have the promise of such from one of the best manufacturing firms in the country, Mr. Bertram & Sons, of Dundas.

Next to this, but of less importance, is an upright drilling machine, and as classes grow larger and the students get further advanced, we see plainly looming up in the future the necessity of more accommodation, and of the housing of the different kinds of mechanical operations, such as smith-work, foundry-work, wood-work, and iron and brass lathe-work in different rooms.

We registered 5 students during the past Session, two of them being competent mathematicians. One, for private reasons, found it necessary to leave us in the middle of the Session, but we expect him back again. Two entered for civil engineering, two for electrical engineering, and one is taking mechanical work only.

The Faculty determined at the beginning of the Session to attempt only 1st and 2nd year work, as laid down in the calendar, and the work of these years is to a great extent along the line of Arts subjects. Of those subjects lying without, the Drawing, Surveying and Descriptive Astronomy were taught by Mr. Mason and myself.

Only two of the students were sufficiently advanced to be admitted to the workshop, and these were occupied in making two useful and instructive articles, viz., an experimental balance for studying the properties of the lever, and a differential wheel and axle.

I gave a great deal of my time to workshop instruction during the last three months, and as in future years I can employ my time to better purposes, it is urgent that a mechanical instructor be engaged, to direct students in the workshop.

I may here remark that it is the intention to turn the workshop to the utmost use by having made in it as many of the conveniences and finer appliances as can be done under the circumstances, and we hope after a few years to have the beginning of a mechanical museum.

It will be necessary during the next Session that a full experimental course of instruction be given in the subjects of electricity and magnetism.

N. F. DUPUIS,

*Dean of the Faculty.*

#### STATEMENT OF EXPENSES.

To fitting up rooms in basement .....	\$ 238 20
To Machinists' work .....	56 30
To expenses in visiting other Institutions .....	128 75
	<hr/>
	\$ 423 25
Paid for material and small tools.....	17 63
	<hr/>
Total Expenditure.....	\$ 440 88

#### REPORT ON BOTANY CLASSES.

Students present at Junior Botany Examinations .....	12
"        "        Honour "    first year.....	9
"        "        "        "    second year .....	4
	<hr/>
	—25

During the Session I have been present in the class-room from 9 a.m. till 1 p.m., to direct those who took practical work. The microscopes asked for last year were received at the beginning of the Session, and a much larger amount of work has been accomplished than in any previous year.

Through the kind assistance of Dr. Knight, a box of alcoholic specimens for microscopic work, was obtained from "The Supply Department of the Marine Biological Laboratory" at Wood's Holl. The supply will be sufficient for some time. A collection of mounted specimens from A. T. Drummond, L.L.B., has largely increased our facilities for studying the marine algae.

On April 9th I took advantage of an excursion to Washington to visit some of the Universities of the United States. At Washington I had the privilege of meeting several botanists, and under their guidance visited the Smithsonian Institution and the National Museum. Several hundreds of specimens of my own collecting are treasured up in these vast collections. At Baltimore the Johns Hopkins University was visited, and two of Queen's students were found busy with their books and apparatus. The names of sixteen Canadian students appear on its list for the present year. The University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, and Columbia College, N.Y., were also visited. I cannot refrain from expressing my indebtedness to all the Professors

of these institutions with whom I came in contact, for their extreme kindness and readiness to show me everything of interest in their departments. The University of Pennsylvania has a staff of 18 officers directing the courses in Biology, of whom five are Professors of Botany.

My special object was to see the apparatus and arrangements for prosecuting the study of Physiological Botany—a subject which is coming into prominence in many Colleges, and is of great importance in the scientific study of Agriculture. I hope to be able next Session to make a beginning in this work, should the Board deem it wise to authorize the expenditure of a small sum for necessary equipment. The opening of a door between my present class-room and the old chemistry laboratory, now unoccupied, is an absolute necessity for the success of my class work next Session.

The sum of \$100 is necessary to procure jars, alcohol and pieces of necessary apparatus for next Session's work. Shelves are also much needed.

Expenses for the Session, as per vouchers attached .....	\$ 23 79
Expenses of visiting the U. S. Universities .....	35 00

(Signed)

JAMES FOWLER,

*The John Roberts Allan Professor of Botany.*

## REPORT ON ANIMAL BIOLOGY.

The total registered attendance in this department during the past Session was 95. In the junior class in arts, 6; extra-murals, 6; in first year honors, 7; extra-murals, 4; in honors, 8. In medicine, animal biology, 36; first year physiology, 30; second year physiology, 28; histology and embryology, 27, bacteriology, 17.

Why the attendance in the junior class in arts remains so small I cannot understand, unless for the reason suggested in my last report. The medical students were, during the past Session, required, for the first time, to take the pass class in junior Animal Biology. They attended the arts class in this subject, and my work in arts and medicine, has to this extent been unified. Two hours a week were devoted to practical work. This was rendered possible by the generous aid given by you and the medical graduates who provided the means for equipping the lockers of the Laboratory last fall. Besides giving the class a general view of the animal kingdom, certain types were

selected for special study. The types chosen were, in the first place, such as would assist medical students in understanding human anatomy, physiology and histology, and in the second place, they were such as had a direct bearing upon medical practice, so far as these two objects were compatible. It was, in fact, for these two reasons that the types selected were mainly those recommended by the Con-joint Board of Examiners of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons, England.

During the past three years I have experienced difficulty in teaching physiology to the medical students who had no previous knowledge of physics. An elementary knowledge of physics is an absolute pre-requisite to the study of physiology. I have accordingly urged, for the past two sessions, the addition of this subject to the medical curriculum, and the Faculty has agreed to require it from all candidates at matriculation after July next. Failing to take it at their matriculation, students will be required to attend a special course of 25 lectures and demonstrations in Prof. Marshall's class. In adding Animal Biology and Physics to the curriculum, the Medical Faculty is trying to keep abreast of the medical thought of the time.

In previous Sessions I had done practical work with second year men in medicine, and with honour men in arts, and with no others. Last winter I attempted it with the juniors in both arts and medicine. Consequently I had a total of 85 students doing from 2 hours to 5 hours' practical work each per week. I do not propose to increase the time spent in this way, but in order to do the work at all well, I must ask assistance for next Session. The assistance is necessary not merely on account of the increasing number of students, but because I desire to make the greatest possible use of the apparatus provided by the subscribers to the apparatus fund.

Those who have made sacrifices in the interest of this fund will be glad to know that during the past two Sessions the students in both arts and medicine have contributed to its success. During 1893-94, the laboratory fees from arts students amounted to \$93.00, and from medical students \$72.00. Last winter the corresponding figures were \$87.00 and \$104.00. Once our equipment in animal biology becomes fairly complete the annual income from laboratory fees will suffice to maintain it.

In my last report I called attention to the necessity of providing for post-graduate instruction in medicine in order that our graduates might be able to complete the fifth year of study now required by the Medical Council of Ontario. The first step towards complying with the Council's requirements has been taken in the appointment of a Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology, Dr. Connell, who will hereafter devote his whole time to these subjects. As he is not here to speak for himself, I should like to say on his behalf and on my own also, that our private rooms, in which we must prepare much of

the material for class demonstrations, are not adequately heated. During the past three Sessions they have never been warm enough to work in, from November to the end of March. The histology and pathology class-room is never warm in cold weather.

Dr. Bourinot writes me that he intends calling the attention of the Royal Society of Canada to the desirability of having a lake or sea-side laboratory established in Canada, similar to the one at Wood's Holl, Mass. Until such an institution is in operation, I would recommend that a three months' course at Wood's Holl (after having passed our junior class) should count as the equivalent of one Session in honor zoology. I would also recommend that instead of a medal in Animal Biology, the sum of \$50.00 be given to the best honor graduate of the year, on condition that he spend a season at Wood's Holl, under the supervision of the Director or Assistant Director of the Laboratory.

I have to withdraw the recommendation made last year regarding the sale of the old microscopes. With the greater experience of last winter, especially with the junior students, I see that the old instruments are exactly the ones to place in the hands of beginners, until they have learned how to use good ones.

As regards our more immediate wants I beg to submit the following recommendations :—

1. That a larger number of reference books be transferred from the University library to my laboratory,
2. That additional papier mache models for teaching comparative anatomy and physiology be purchased in France or Germany, at a cost of about \$200.00.
3. That a dust-tight case or cabinet be ordered in which to place the physiological instruments now belonging to my department ; cost, about \$50.00.

(Signed)

A. P. KNIGHT,

*The John Roberts Professor of Animal Biology.*

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### THE MUSEUM.

The Curator of the Museum begs leave to report that, in the Department of Rocks, Minerals and Fossils, very few specimens have been received during the past year, all such objects being now sent to the School of Mining. As the Museum already contains specimens of



all rocks and minerals that can be procured without special efforts to obtain them from distant localities, few additions can be expected in the future.

In the Department of Zoology a fine collection of 29 birds and 4 squirrels has been received from the family of the late R. M. Horsey. The specimens are in good condition, well-mounted, and deserve special acknowledgment.

Several students have repeatedly offered to procure specimens of skins, if the Trustees would undertake to pay the necessary expenses of mounting and freight. Unless something of this kind is done, very few additions to our collection need be anticipated. The mammals of our country are fast disappearing, so that their value is fast increasing; consequently the prospects of obtaining them as gifts are continually decreasing. None except the squirrels mentioned above have been received for several years.

In the last report it was stated that the Government Entomologist at Ottawa had offered to prepare for the College as complete a collection of the Insect Fauna of the Province, of agricultural importance, as could be procured. A few months ago he informed me that he had secured the necessary cases and that the collection was in course of preparation. Other members of the Entomological Society of Ottawa are contributing specimens to the completion of the collection.

The Herbarium has been increased by a large bundle of plants received in exchange from the Missouri Botanical Garden at St. Louis, and from the Gowan prize collection of G. Guess, M.A.

Prof. Shortt also spent most of the summer in the Province of Alberta, and made a collection of the Flora of the localities in which he spent sufficient time for the purpose. His specimens are remarkably good and many of them new to the Herbarium. These additions necessitated the purchase of a larger amount of paper than was anticipated. About 2,000 sheets of specimens have been mounted during the year.

The kindness of "The Trustees of the Missouri Botanical Garden" deserves special mention. They furnish us with copies of their annual reports, which contain valuable papers, and send an invitation to the Professor of Botany to be present at their annual banquet, to which they "invite literary and scientific men, and friends and patrons of the natural sciences." The expense of the journey has hitherto prevented the acceptance of the invitation.

Expenses during the year, as per vouchers attached.....	\$ 49 44
Annual Grant .....	30 00
Amount due Curator .....	\$ 19 44

The usual grant of \$30.00 will probably suffice for the present year.

JAMES FOWLER, *Curator.*

## THE LIBRARY.

The number of books added to the Library during the past year has been larger than usual. This is due chiefly to the addition of two valuable collections. Early in the year Mr. J. Jones Bell, of Toronto, and Dr. Robert Bell, of Peterborough, presented to Queen's the very valuable collection of books, pamphlets, reports and papers relating to Canada, made by their father, the late Robert Bell, of Carleton Place. This collection has been placed in a separate alcove, and will be known as "The Robert Bell Collection."

The other special collection consists of an almost complete set of the British acts, reports and statistical abstracts, relating to British North America, and extending from the year 1700 to 1892.

Valuable donations were also made by the heirs of the late Sheriff Treadwell, of L'Orignal, Mr. Andrew Drummond, of Ottawa, Messrs. Macmillan & Co., and many others.

The following is a tabulated statement of the additions for the year :

Purchased.....	851
Bell Collection..	511
Other Donations .....	391
Periodicals .....	63
Total number of volumes .....	1816

This does not include the collection of British reports, numbering about 1,100 and contained in solander cases.

## ABSTRACT OF FINANCIAL STATEMENT FROM AUDITORS' REPORT.

Total Receipts.....	\$ 1,574 10
Expenditure .....	1,544 22
Balance.....	\$ 29 88

The growth of the Library and the increasing number of students, especially of those in the advanced courses, renders more urgent the need for a general reference catalogue, which will make the contents of the Library more readily known and serviceable. Some form of the card system of catalogue, adapted to the special needs of the University, would seem to be the most suitable. I have not had opportunity to examine the various forms of the system in practical operation, and therefore am not able to present very definite recommendations. I think, however, that from \$300 to \$350 should be sufficient to prepare a catalogue of this description. One great ad-

vantage of the card system, in any form, is that it permits of indefinite expansion at very trifling cost.

During the past Session Mr. James Rollins, B.A., rendered very efficient service as assistant Librarian.

ADAM SHORTT, *Librarian.*

## REPORT ON PHYSICAL LABORATORY.

Herewith I enclose the account of expenses incurred during the past Session for physical apparatus. The balance, \$322.89, is nearly all due to Messrs. Negretti and Lambra, of London, for apparatus purchased last year. They have not sent me their account, but I may get it any day.

25 students took advantage of the Laboratory last winter under the superintendence of Mr. S. A. Mitchell. If an assistant were appointed to attend all day, many more would gladly take advantage. It is to be hoped that this will necessarily follow an extension of the work on the side of the practical sciences. The work of carrying on four classes in Physics was so hard last Session that I had little time to devote to extension of Laboratory work. As this class-work is yearly increasing, there is greater need than ever of a properly paid assistant in the Physics Department.

Receipts, 1894-5--Balance .....	\$ 81 04
From Treasurer, Apparatus Fees .....	333 00
Interest .....	3 26
	<hr/>
	\$ 417 30
Expenditure, as per accompanying statement .....	\$ 54 41
Dr. Williamson, for Observatory .....	40 00
Balance .....	322 89
	<hr/>
	\$ 417 30

(Signed)

D. H. MARSHALL,

*Professor of Physics.*

## OBSERVATORY REPORT.

Since last report a King micrometer for the Equatorial, and a new diagonal eye-piece and spare web for the transit have been added to the apparatus of the Observatory, from Fauth & Co., Washington. I found it also desirable after their long use to have the object lenses of the Equatorial repolished and took them to Alvan Clark & Son, their makers, for that purpose, and their performance is now all that could be desired.

It is but fair to Messrs. Fauth & Co. to mention that the sidereal clock received from them a few years ago, by a comparison of its daily rate with that of the clocks in the most thoroughly equipped observatories of Europe, has proved itself to be a time-keeper of the most perfect kind.

The time has been duly given to the city and shipping throughout the year. Observations of a general character have been made from time to time, and a weekly class has been held for practical instruction of the senior students.

JAMES WILLIAMSON,

*Director of Observatory.*

# QUEEN'S QUARTERLY.

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## TENNYSON'S "IN MEMORIAM."

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"IN MEMORIAM" is the poem of a period, in more senses than one. Begun soon after Arthur Hallam's death, an event which gave the occasion for its composition, it took at least fifteen years to complete, and in the shape that we have it is less a single poem than a series of poems not unlike the sonnet series in Rossetti's *House of Life*. Singular art has been shown in joining the separate portions, but a careful inspection will discover the junctures. As in many other poems—for instance, Pope's *Rape of the Lock* and Allan Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*—the original poem remains imbedded in the final whole and is easily separable from it.

There are one hundred and thirty sections, frequently called 'poems', in the poem as we have it, but the real original elegy, *In Memoriam* proper, closes with the fifty-sixth section, where the poet finds comfort for his loss in the assured hope of a blessed immortality "behind the veil." It is to a statement of this assurance that the previous sections lead up, an assurance to which the poet passionately clung, a belief that may be called his 'sheet anchor.' With its deliberate statement in the fifty-sixth section the construction becomes less vertebrate and trails off, so to speak, into particular reminiscences, musings, and speculations having a less intimate connection with the main subject, and less of a causal connection with one another. This first grand division of the poem is really a history of the wounding and healing of a human spirit, while the rest belongs to the period of convalescence.

Comparatively few of the readers of *In Memoriam* seem to recognise the note of real indignation with which the first section begins :

I held it truth, with him who sings  
To one clear harp in divers tones,  
That men may rise on stepping-stones  
Of their dead selves to higher things.

But who shall so forecast the years  
And find in loss a gain to match ?  
Or reach a hand thro' time to catch  
The far-off interest of tears ?

Many appear to think that it matters little whether the words read 'I held' or 'I hold'; whereas the past tense of the verb is the most significant element in the whole predication. It suggests a long train of thought : 'As a lad knowing little or nothing of life, seeing only the surface of things, pleased with a ready optimism, I assented to this so-called truth, that the events of life are to be interpreted by their educative value in the present world. But I find it to be one of those half-truths that are hollow mockeries ; it is a staff that breaks when we have need to lean on it ; a rose-water remedy that the really sick patient refuses with a scornful laugh.' The actual saying contained in the two closing lines of the first stanza can, of course, be traced to St. Augustine, *Sermo de Ascensione*, but the likeness is more formal and less essential than might at first sight appear—"De vitiis nostris scalam nobis facimus, si vitia ipsa calcamus", a saying quoted explicitly by Longfellow in his well-known verses :

St. Augustine ! well hast thou said,  
That of our vices we can frame  
A ladder, if we will but tread  
Beneath our feet each dead of shame.  
All common things—each day's events,  
That with the hour begin and end ;  
Our pleasures and our discontents,  
Are rounds by which we may ascend.

Again in Lowell we have a similar thought :

" 'Tis sorrow builds the shining ladder up,  
Whose golden rounds are our calamities,  
Whereon our firm feet planting, nearer God  
The spirit climbs, and hath its eyes unsealed."\*

But Tennyson's "dead selves" covers more than Augustine's *vitia* or Lowell's 'calamities', and refers to all the experiences of life. Moreover it represents a humanistic creed that was certainly not Augustine's, as it certainly was Goethe's. The last phrase of Lowell's is pitched in a wholly different key, and suits the spiritual mood of *In Memoriam*. The two closing lines in Tennyson's first stanza are antipathetic to all that follows, and represent an utilitarian, self-centred conception of things, a development of the individual from a cool and reasonable estimate of himself and his possibilities, which is the unsatisfactory element in Goethe's whole conception of life.

The 'one clear harp', though often understood otherwise, refers to Goethe, whom we know to have been closely studied by Tennyson. When his house at Aldworth, Surrey, was built for him, the poet had carved on one of the chimney-pieces the names of the six poets he chiefly loved : Shakespeare, Chaucer, Milton, Dante, Wordsworth and Goethe. In the time of his sudden sorrow he probably turned to the last-named for comfort, and was repelled by the self-satisfied flavour of Goethe's aspect of things. Tennyson was *not* prepared to thank providence for his friend's life and death because they had enriched his own life ; such a method of applying comfort seemed detestable ; no assistance in healing of the wound could come from a remedy of this kind. The gain to himself might or might not be ; but this consideration was altogether beside the question, and was on no account to be entertained. In the second stanza, accordingly, he applies to this interpretation of sorrow a mercantile term, 'interest', by way of throwing contempt upon it. Life and love were things too deep to furnish items for a ledger-book ; nor was any man fitted to keep such a ledger-book. Better than this sophisticated humanity the hearty natural grief that pours itself forth in wild gestures and cries ; " Rachel weeping for her children and refusing to be comforted."

\*On the Death of a Fair Child.

The fact was, that Arthur Hallam's death had, for Tennyson, unsettled the pivot of the universe, which probably up to this time had been placed pretty much where Goethe's was; or, at least, he had not dissented from Goethe's reasonable interpretation of nature and providence. To take the symbol of a stream, as representative of human life—a favourite one with Tennyson; was life a stream in which personalities are but the momentary concurrence of forces that immediately drift apart? May optimism be possible if we regard the stream as ever growing wider, clearer, nobler? If so, the immortality pictured forth in George Eliot's much-admired lyric, would be an immortality resembling the continuous flow of the stream; the 'choir invisible' would be the 'choir indistinguishable.'

Such an explanation of life sounded hollow and empty in the poet's ears. The destruction of personality involved in it—choice spirits like his dear friend continuing in the future solely thro' the channel of himself and other surviving intimates or the miserably inadequate medium of printed 'remains'—struck him with horror. There *could be* no such loss of precious personalities; souls so like the great Son of Man *must* live for ever with Him. Throughout *In Memoriam* we have recurring again and again the imagery that is found in the poet's hymn that closes his complete works:

For tho' beyond the bounds of Time and Space  
The flood may bear me far;  
I hope to meet my Pilot face to face  
When I have crossed the bar.

In the eighty-fourth section, in describing the future as he had hoped it might be, he speaks of the other shore, where, in company with his friend, he should

Arrive at last the blessed goal,  
And He that died in Holy Land  
Would reach us out the shining hand  
And take us as a single soul.

A close study of the poem is necessary to understand how distinctly Christian it is, how radically it rests on revelation and the worship of the Perfect One for the consolation it brings to in-



quiring spirits. The vocabulary and phraseology are neutral, for the poet has rendered into the language of ordinary society in the Victorian era conceptions that had for long been associated with theology and theology alone. This is one of its chief charms, that we find expressed, not in the starched phraseology of the pulpit, but in the immediate terms of every-day life, ideas and aspirations that are part of ourselves and long to assume more tangible and permanent shape. A similar enjoyment is afforded in reading George Eliot, who delights in the artistic use of metaphors and similes that are new to literature and belong to the most recent phases of modern life.

The avoidance of a hackneyed, outworn phraseology was intentional and altogether essential to the poet's mission. The spirit of the age was humanistic ; men looked over the face of the world, and longed to find out the principles that bound the different races of men together. The intenser attitude of the Puritan, with its limited horizon, had yielded to the larger, more extensive point of view of which Burns was an exponent. Men gazed on the broad stream of humanity and longed for a time,

When man to man, the world o'er,  
Shall brothers be, for a' that.

Even the heavens were widening to man's view, with the discovery of new planets. Science was "reaching forth her arm To feel from world to world, and charm Her secret from the latest morn." This thrust away into remoteness and obscurity the zenithal heaven and nadiral hell of Milton and the Puritans, virtually dismissing these conceptions altogether. And then geology was making shipwreck of the accepted Bishop Ussher chronology ; and the sources of the stream of humanity were pushed back thousands of years before Adam and the patriarchs. Mystery and revelation seemed to energetic and confident spirits to be terms which the world was pretty well able to do without. Life was explained by itself. Humanity's business was with itself ; and it was able to work out its own salvation.

Was, then, the old sweet mysticism doomed ? Now that Heaven could no longer be reached by golden stairs, had God entirely left His universe, and was there really a God in the universe ? It was the mission of Tennyson as a poet to sift for

his readers the wheat from the chaff in the old theological beliefs. They came, as in a commercial panic, with bank notes that they feared were worthless, and found that these could be changed into fresh-minted gold coins. God was in His world, and all was well. This thrusting Him further off locally, or doing away with the conception of a local Heaven in space, merely brought Him closer spiritually to the hearts of men.

(I) hear at times a sentinel  
 Who moves about from place to place,  
 And whispers to the worlds of space  
 In the deep night, that all is well.

There was a limit to the sphere of the understanding, and mystery and revelation were still facts in life :—

If e'er when faith had fallen asleep,  
 I heard a voice "believe no more"  
 And heard an ever-breaking shore  
 That tumbled in the Godless deep ;  
 A warmth within the breast would melt  
 The freezing reason's colder part,  
 And like a man in wrath the heart  
 Stood up and answer'd "I have felt."

The poet in passing over from his own particular grief to a study of suffering and death in general, has made *In Memoriam* more of a philosophical poem than an elegy. And yet the threnodic strain runs through the whole and binds it together. Short as *Lycidas* is compared with *In Memoriam*, little more than one tenth, the personal note of grief there is relatively insignificant. King had not been to Milton what Hallam was to Tennyson, and his premature death made no perceptible vibration in the poet's life. The days of stern combat were evidently approaching when the elect had to fight against the sons of Belial; and Milton mourned his fellow-collegian, King, as one good soldier lost to the ranks of the faithful. "How well," says Father Comus,

"How well could I have spared for thee, young swain,  
 Enow of such as, for their bellies' sake,  
 Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold !"

*Lycidas*, of course, is in no wise philosophical. The slight tribute to "divine philosophy" that appears in the earlier *Comus*,

"How charming is divine philosophy !  
Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,  
But musical as is Apollo's lute,"

is never again repeated by the poet in any form. Revelation had made all things sure and stable for him ; he was in the ranks, following implicitly that soldier's hand-book of the Puritans, the Bible. Immortality, the problem of evil, the atonement, Heaven, were not open questions with him. And so all the utterances in *Lycidas* are clear-cut and unhesitating. Milton has no use for 'lame hands of faith ;' cripples are of little value in the day of the battle. The stanza with which Tennyson closes his fifty-fifth section Milton would have scorned with his whole powers of indignation :

I falter where I firmly trod,  
And falling with my weight of cares  
Upon the great world's altar-stairs  
That slope thro' darkness up to God,  
I stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,  
And gather dust and chaff, and call  
To what I feel is Lord of all,  
And faintly trust the larger hope.

So far had natural religion in the intervening two centuries trenched on revealed religion. And yet Tennyson sets a bound to the sphere of natural religion, rejecting her aid where the deeper problems of life are concerned. In the fifty-third section, where he discusses the uses of evil, the possibility of sin abounding that grace might more abound, he confesses that the discussion is perilous unless we keep a 'correspondence fixed with Heaven' :

Hold thou the good : define it well :  
For fear divine philosophy  
Should push beyond her mark, and be  
Procuress to the Lords of Hell.

By 'divine philosophy' he seems to mean natural religion ; using the figure known as double enallage. It is just here, in facing the problem of suffering and evil in the most direct and practical

fashion, that ordinary philosophy is weak and religion is strong. The subject is not to be discussed safely or profitably from the humanistic side, but belongs to religion proper. No man, except he who comes close to God by prayer, and is in mystic communion with Him, has any real light to shed upon this mysterious problem.

It was no surprise, therefore, to many to find that, in privately discussing religious matters, the poet frequently gave utterance to statements that had no uncertain sound. His niece, Miss Agnes Grace Weld, quotes several of these in an article contributed some time ago to the *Contemporary Review*. "God can and does answer every earnest prayer, as I know from my own experience . . . . Wherever life is, there God is, specially in the heart of man. We are all sons of God, but One alone is worthy to be called *the* Son of Man, the representative of the whole of humanity . . . . Nothing is such a distress of soul to me as to have this divinity of Christ assailed . . . . We shall have much to learn in a future world, and I think we shall all be children to begin with when we get to heaven, whatever our age when we die, and shall grow on there from childhood to the prime of life, at which we shall remain for ever. My idea of heaven is to be engaged in perpetual ministry to souls in this and other worlds."

To turn now to the form of the poem, the choice which the poet made of a metre for his elegy was singularly felicitous; iambic tetrameter quatrains with a couplet in the centre, which the first and last lines enclose like the cups of a shell. Iambic tetrameter is naturally the swiftest of all measures, as it occurs, for instance, in the *Mazeppa's Ride* of Byron or in Scott's *Lady of the Lake*. In the latter poem the measure is seen at its best at the opening of the poem, in the description of the stag-hunt, and again in the fifth canto where Fitz-James and Roderick Dhu meet in mortal combat and rain blows upon one another. When action is absent it is apt to drag or stagger; there is no subtlety in it, no interlinked sweetness. As soon as the swift current of incident begins to fail, the metre loses its appropriateness and charm.

By a slight change Tennyson converted this rapid measure in-

to a wonderful instrument for the expression of matured thought. Holding over the first rhyme to the end of the quatrain, he secured a deliberate utterance for the first line, which had to wait for its riming complement until the last line was uttered. Then followed a couplet, having its second line of increased intensity, as must always take place in the couplet. This swiftness is checked in the fourth line, which is the most characteristic in the stanza ; the most elaborate, weighty, and richest in verbal music. It is strange that a mere interchange of terminal rimes should have wrought such a transformation, and have given a peculiar character to each of the lines of the quatrain ; but so it is. The four quatrains of section L may be cited in illustration :

Be near me when my light is low,  
 When the blood creeps, and the nerves prick  
 And tingle ; and the heart is sick,  
 And all the wheels of Being slow.

Be near me when the sensuous frame  
 Is rack'd with pangs that conquer trust ;  
 And Time, a maniac scattering dust,  
 And Life, a Fury slinging flame.

Be near me when my faith is dry,  
 And men the flies of later spring,  
 That lay their eggs, and sting and sing  
 And weave their petty cells and die.

Be near me when I fade away,  
 To point the term of human strife,  
 And on the low dark verge of life  
 The twilight of eternal day.

Strictly speaking the metre is at least two hundred and odd years older than Tennyson. Ben Jonson made use of it in one of the short poems in his *Underwoods*, entitled *An Elegy*. This piece is full of frigid personifications and conceits of the period, and there is absolutely no hint in it of the peculiar qualities latent in the measure ; no rise and fall, ebb and flow ; no gentle opening, gradually increase of swiftness and force, closing richness of tone. Again at the end of last century Walter Savage Landor used the measure in his first poetical venture, in a short

piece entitled *French Villagers*; but without any development of its resources. And one of the most distinguished of Tennyson's contemporaries, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, just a few months before the measure became familiar to the world by the publication of *In Memoriam*, published in a monthly magazine a pretty little poem entitled *My Sister's Sleep*, in the same measure. The treatment, while exquisitely simple and tenderly pathetic, brings out no hidden possibilities of metrical effect :

Twelve struck. That sound by dwindling years  
 Heard in each hour, crept off; and then  
 The ruffled silence spread again  
 Like water that a pebble stirs.  
 Our mother rose from where she sat ;  
 Her needles, as she laid them down,  
 Met lightly, and her silken gown  
 Settled ; no other sound than that.

*My Sister's Sleep* (Stanzas 7, 8)

Probably the least successful portion of *In Memoriam*, metrically considered, is the Bridal Song, much of which is narrative. For pure narrative the measure possesses no special aptitude, but is prone to halt and trail off. Any one who reads the three dozen stanzas which form the song and conclude the whole poem, will easily note the difference between the sweep of the descriptive and reflective quatrains and the insignificant effect of those devoted solely to narrative :

O happy hour, behold the bride  
 With him to whom her hand I gave,  
 They leave the porch, they pass the grave  
 That has to-day its sunny side.  
 To-day the grave is bright for me,  
 For them the light of life increased,  
 Who stay to share the morning feast,  
 Who rest to-night beside the sea.

A shade falls on us like the dark  
 From little cloudlets on the grass,  
 But sweeps away as out we pass  
 To range the woods, to roam the park,

Discussing how their courtship grew,  
 And talk of others that are wed,  
 And how she look'd, and what he said,  
 And back we come at fall of dew.

It will be observed in the above that the fourth line has no special character to justify its separation from the first line, to which it belongs by reason of the riming. It is a real sequent or sub-altern of the third, while owning a nominal allegiance to the first. When the stanza, however, is a rounded whole, expressing the results of long study and consistent thinking, the interweaving of the rimes is wholly justified and gives the stanza a wonderful unity :

Whereof the man, that with me trod  
 This planet, was a noble type  
 Appearing ere the times were ripe,  
 That friend of mine who lives in God,  
 That God, which ever lives and loves,  
 One God, one law, one element,  
 And one far-off divine event,  
 To which the whole creation moves.

Probably this is the only English measure which permits an effect similar to that of Hebrew parallelism. Our blank verse is never used successfully except where the line is treated, not as a unit, but as the inseparable part of a whole passage, a mere link in a long chain. Where rime enters, the majestic simplicity of the Hebrew form disappears. The couplet lends itself to a smart antithesis that is wholly alien and abhorrent to the Hebrew idea :—

He hath founded it upon the seas  
 And established it upon the floods.  
 Who giveth rain upon the earth  
 And sendeth water upon the fields.

The second member is usually either purely synonymous, or complete, or expansive, or climactic. Now it will be found that Tennyson's fourth line, bound by no formal link of rime to the third, is freed from the necessity of antithetical treatment, and is constantly used by the poet for the same purposes as the second

clause of the Hebrew distich. He loves to make use of it for the utterance, in an expanded, and more sonorous way, of a thought already conveyed in the third line :

And hushes half the babbling Wye,  
And makes a silence in the hills.

An infant crying for the light,  
And with no language but a cry.

Along the letters of thy name  
And o'er the number of thy years.

And wrapt thee formless in the fold,  
And dull'd the murmur on thy lip.

The recurrence of this effect, new in English poetry, but not new to English ears, having being rendered singularly familiar by the magnificent strains of Job, of the Psalms, and of Isaiah, accounts largely for the immediate and permanent popularity of the poem. The poet chose admirably well the form in which to throw his teaching ; this in itself was a distinct mark of genius. In the blending of the old and the new, the familiar and the unfamiliar both in thought and expression, in giving to the age something that was wholly theirs, and yet linked them to all that was hallowed and cherished in the past, Tennyson performed an inestimable service to the English-speaking world. He gave the thoughtfully religious a new phraseology, suited to their needs, exquisite in form ; phrases that linger on the lips and refuse to be forgotten.

J. M. DIXON.



BROWNING'S INTERPRETATION OF THE  
"ALCESTIS."

*(Concluded.)*

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The second scene is between Apollo and Death, who has come with awful promptitude to claim his victim. The main interest of the dialogue lies in the final prophecy of Apollo :

"Cruel above measure, thou shalt clutch  
No life here! Such a man do I perceive  
Advancing to the house of Pheres now,  
Sent by Eurustheus to bring out of Thrace,  
The winter world, a chariot with its steeds!  
He indeed, when Admetos proves the host,  
And he the guest, at the house here,—he is it  
Shall bring to bear such force, and from thy hands  
Rescue this woman."

We are now in possession of the main outline of the plot : Alcestis is to die for Admetos, but Hercules, the saviour of man, is to rescue her from the hands of Death, and restore her to her husband.

The God is gone

"And mortals left to deal with misery."

In "came stealing slow," the chorus of old men, "servants grown friends to those unhappy here."

"What now (they cry) may mean the silence at the door?  
Why is Admetos' mansion stricken dumb?

Is Alcestis dead or alive?—

the best of wives

That ever was towards husband in this world!

Alas! the appointed day is come, and who may stay the hand of Death?

"Vainly—anywhither in the world  
Directing or land-labour or sea-search—

Might you set free our hapless lady's soul  
From the abrupt Fate's footstep instant now.

. . . . .  
All the King could do  
Is done already,—not one God whereof  
The altar fails to reek with sacrifice :  
And for assuagement of these evils—naught ! ”

As they end, a matron comes forth, from whom they learn that  
Alcestis still breathes ; “ Nor,” they significantly add :

“ Nor knows her husband what the misery meant  
Before he felt it.

Admetos is now beginning to realize what before he had only vaguely imagined as a possibility. After the usual manner in which mortals refuse to accept the inevitable until it is upon them, he had evidently not admitted up to this point that the sacrifice of his wife would actually be required. Some god would surely come to the rescue, and *both* lives would be spared, *Now* it is gradually penetrating to the centre of his consciousness that no supernatural deliverer will interpose to avert the doom. As for Alcestis, she had in all sincerity devoted herself to death, making the great renunciation once for all. The time has come, and, as the matron tells us, she stands before the hearth and prays, not for deliverance from a doom she knows to be inevitable, but for divine protection to her children, after her departure to the dark underworld. Then,

“ Although she breathe so faint,  
Her will is to behold the beams o' the sun :  
Since never more again, but this last once,  
Shall she see sun, its circlet or its ray.”

A sad procession winds slowly from the interior of the palace,  
and, opening, discloses

Alkestis' self,  
The consecrated lady, borne to look  
Her last—and let the living look their last  
She at the sun, we at Alkestis.”

All illusions have fallen away from her : she is consecrate to Hades : by the sacrificial sword of Death her soul is cut “ from something in this world which hides truth, and hides falsehood, and so lets us live somehow.” As Browning interprets :—

with eyes unbandaged now  
 Alkestis looked upon the action here,  
 Self-immolation for Admetos' sake :  
 Saw, with a new sense, all her death would do,  
 And which of her survivors had the right,  
 And which the less right, to survive thereby.  
 For, you shall note, she uttered no one word  
 Of love more to her husband, though he wept  
 Plenteously, waxed importunate in prayer—  
 Folly's old fashion when its seed bears fruit.

Admetos had his share and might depart,  
 The rest was for her children and herself.

She saw things plain as gods do.

We have here the essence of Browning's interpretation of the Alcestis. To my mind it is one of the most penetrative bits of critical exposition ever written—a flash of insight of which perhaps only a poet was capable. Alcestis, as under Browning's guidance we perceive, now sees all things in the transparent light of absolute reality ; Admetos' mind is still clouded by a thick veil of custom and selfishness. "Why should *we* suffer," he moans, "we who did the gods no wrong whence thou shouldst die"! Alcestis is gone, and Admetos at last begins to taste the truth :

"Alkestis—not to see her nor be seen,  
 Hear nor be heard of by her, any more  
 To-day, to-morrow, to the end of time—  
 Did I mean this should buy my life?" thought he.

When Admetos has retired into the palace, the chorus sing a poem in honour of the dead. At the close a new character appears. There is heard "a great voice":—"My hosts here!" It is Herakles, bringing

"Along with the gay cheer of that great voice  
 Hope, joy, salvation : Herakles was here !  
 Himself, o' the threshold, sent his voice in first  
 To herald all that human and divine  
 I' the weary happy face of him,—half God,  
 Half man, which made the god-part God the more."

. . . . .  
 The irresistible sound wholesome heart  
 O' the hero,—more than all the mightiness  
 At labor in the limbs that, for man's sake,  
 Labored and meant to labor their life long,—  
 This drove back, dried up sorrow at its source.

. . . . .  
 Clearly there was no telling such an one  
 How, when their monarch tried who loved him more  
 Than he loved them, and found they loved, as he,  
 Each man, himself, and held, no otherwise,  
 That, of all evils in the world, the worst  
 Was—being forced to die, whate'er death gain :  
 How all this selfishness in him and them  
 Caused certain sorrow which they sang about,—  
 I think that Herakles, who held his life  
 Out on his hand, for any man to take—  
 I think his laugh had marred their threnody.

Admetos comes out quietly from the palace. With a fine sense of the obligations of hospitality he conceals from Herakles the death of his wife, leaving him to suppose that it was a stranger. Herakles is installed in "guest rooms ranged remote from view o' the main hall", and the servants have orders to "furnish forth a plenteous feast, and then shut close the doors o' the hall, midway.

"Because it is not proper friends who feast  
 Should hear a groaning or be grieved."

And Herakles, who

" did too many grandnesses to note  
 Much in the meaner things about his path,"

took Admetos at his word,

And then strode off, with who had care of him,  
 To the remote guest-chamber : glad to give  
 Poor flesh and blood their respite and relief  
 In the interval 'twixt fight and fight again—  
 All for the world's sake."

An interruption of a very different kind now takes place. Admetos' father and mother appear with a retinue of servants,

"Each bringing in his hand  
Adornments for the dead, all pomp that's due  
To the downward dwelling people."

The scene which follows is one which a modern reader finds it hard to read without a mixture of disgust and ridicule. Admetos rejects his father's gifts, and hurls at him indignant reproaches for being the real cause of Alkestis' death ; to which Pheres answers that he sees no reason why he should give his life for a "poor poltroon," whom "a very woman worsted, daring death just for the sake of thee, her handsome spark." With a touch of grim humour he suggests that Admetos has contrived a fine way not to die at all :

'tis but still persuade  
The wife, for the time being, to take thy place !  
Then, with a final burst of indignation :  
"What, and thy friends who would not do the like,  
These dost thou carp at, craven thus thyself ?  
Crouch and be silent, craven ! Comprehend  
That, if thou lovest so that life of thine,  
Why, everybody loves his own life too :  
So, good words, henceforth ! If thou speak us ill,  
Many and true an ill thing shalt thou hear !"

Browning has thrown a flood of light on this as on other parts of the play. Let us recall the state of mind of Admetos when his father appeared with his untimely gifts. His loved wife was actually dead, self-sacrificed for him : no god had interposed, as he had half-unconsciously all along expected. The sense of his irremediable loss had come over his soul like a wave, and he was vaguely striving in his half-stunned state to get a true view of himself. That Alkestis had been sacrificed to his own selfish love of life he was not even yet willing to admit ; but, at the centre of his being, there was a half-formed consciousness of the truth. Just at the wrong moment, when he was half-blindly battling with himself for light, Pheres appeared, and gave a new life to all his old feelings, indulged for so long ; the old train of association revives, and the old bitterness against his father breaks out anew

now made more bitter by the nascent consciousness, struggling to assert itself, that the real culprit was himself. As Browning puts it :

“You see what all this poor pretentious talk  
Tried at,—how weakness strove to hide itself  
In bluster against weakness,—the loud word  
To hide the little whisper, not so low  
Already in that heart beneath those lips !  
Ha, could it be, who hated cowardice  
Stood confessed craven, and who lauded so  
Self-immolating love, himself had pushed  
The loved one to the altar in his place ?”

In short, the process of conversion has begun in the soul of Admetos, but the struggle between the old Adam and the new is so fierce that it must needs express itself in this unlovely form. Yet the process has begun, and we must recognize the insight of the poet in making the distorted reflection of his own selfishness in his father, partly the means of his coming to a consciousness of a higher self,—a selfishness which the old man, with his tougher fibre, expresses in the cold and emphatic language of the intellect, not hesitating to formulate as a universal principle of human life, that everyone cares only for himself.

“So, the old selfish Pheres went his way  
Case-hardened as he came and left the youth,  
(Only half-selfish now, since sensitive)  
To go on learning.”

As the sad procession wends its way slowly to the suburb sepulchre, the spectators are recalled to the every-day world by the appearance from the palace of an old servant. The man has a grievance ; and his grievance is the conduct of Herakles, who has been feasting in his large joyous way, heedless of the gloom and sorrow that envelopes the whole house. As he is brooding over the unruly conduct of this unfeeling guest, a great hand is laid on his shoulder, and Herakles stands before him.

“There smiled the mighty presence, all one smile  
And no touch more of the world-weary god,  
Through the brief respite.”

‘Thou, there!’

Why look’st so solemn and so thought-absorbed?  
Come hither, and so get to grow more wise!  
Things mortal—know’st thou the nature that they have?  
Give ear to me, then! For all flesh to die,  
Is nature’s due: nor is there any one  
Of mortals with assurance he shall last  
The coming morrow: for, what’s born of chance  
Invisibly proceeds the way it will,  
Not to be learned, no fortune-teller’s prize.  
This, therefore, having heard and known through me,  
Gladden thyself! Drink! Count the day-by-day  
Existence thine, and all the other—chance!

Men being mortal should think mortal-like:  
Since to your solemn, brow-contracting sort,  
All of them,—so I lay down law at least,—  
Life is not truly life but misery.”

The man ‘with softened surliness’ answers:

“We know as much: but deal with matters, now,  
Hardly befitting mirth and revelry.”

Then Herakles gradually learns that Alkestis, and not a stranger, was dead. Instantly his resolution is taken: the refined and noble hospitality of Admetos shall not be unrewarded: he will wrestle with Death, and try to wrest Alkestis from him, even if he should fail, and himself go down “to the unsunned dwelling-place.”

“So in a spasm and splendour of resolve,  
All at once did the god surmount the man.”

“So to the struggle off strode Herakles.”

“Gladness be with thee, Helper of our world!  
I think (muses Browning) this is the authentic sign and  
seal

Of godship, that it ever waxes glad,  
And more glad, until gladness blossoms, bursts  
Into a rage to suffer for mankind,  
And recommence at sorrow.”

The mourners return from the funeral, and now "the whole woe billow-like" breaks on Admetos. To the ordinary common-places about human mortality, uttered by the chorus, he pays no heed. When his grief has worn itself still, he at last utters words which show that, purified by suffering, he was beginning to be like his wife. With what a change he "came up now to light and left behind such littleness as tears."

This brings us to the last scene, in which the transformation effected in Admetos' soul is brought to light under the test of Herakles. Unexpectedly in strode the Hero,—

"Happy, as always ; something grave, perhaps ;  
The great vein-cordage on the fret-worked front,  
Black-swollen, beaded yet with battle dew  
The yellow hair o' the hero."

But, most significant of all,

Under the great guard of one arm, there leant  
A shrouded something, live and woman-like,  
Propped by the heart-beats 'neath the lion-coat.

He explains that the woman was won with good hard toil in a wrestling-bout, and he has come back to entrust her to the care of his friend. Admetos, 'hollowly and with submission,' adds reason after reason

Vainly against the purpose all too plain  
In that grew brow acquainted with command.

He cannot bear the added strain of this perpetual reminder of his loss :—

O woman, whosoe'er thou art,—  
Know, thou hast all the form, art like as like  
Alkestis, in the bodily shape ! Ah me !  
Take,—by the gods,—this woman from my sight,  
Lest thou undo me, the undone before !  
Since I seem—seeing her—as if I saw  
My own wife ! And confusions cloud my heart,  
And from my eyes the springs break forth ! Ah me  
Unhappy—how I taste for the first time  
My misery in all its bitterness ! "

Herakles presses the unwelcome honour upon Admetos, and,



finally convinced of the absolute sincerity of his repentance, from him "a great glow broke." Admetus is at length induced to take the lady's hand.

" There is no telling how the hero twitched  
The veil off : and there stood, with such fixed eyes  
And such slow smile, Alkestis' silent self !  
It was the crowning grace of that great heart,  
To keep back joy : procrastinate the truth  
Until the wife, who had made proof and found  
The husband wanting, might essay once more,  
Hear, see, and feel him renovated now—  
Able to do, now, all herself had done,  
Risen to the height of her ; so, hand in hand,  
The two might go together, live and die."

The play ends with the words of the chorus :

" Manifold are thy shapings, Providence !  
Many a hopeless matter gods arrange.  
What we expected never came to pass :  
What we did not expect, gods brought to bear ;  
So have things gone, this whole experience through ! "

Under the guidance of Browning we have learned something of the quality of what he calls " the perfect piece." We can understand why the words of Mrs. Browning are prefixed as a motto :

Our Euripides, the human,  
With his droppings of warm tears,  
And his touches of things common  
Till they rose to touch the spheres.

That Euripides succeeded in a measure in showing that life was worth living we cannot but admit. None of the ancient poets has displayed the same insight into the depths of the human heart, and especially into the infinite capacity for self-sacrifice wrapped up in woman's love. The women of Æschylus are of heroic mould, built on the same grand scale as the heroic men with whom they have to deal ; the women of Sophocles are capable of going to death for a great principle ; but only Euripides has exhibited the potency of a woman's heart. Now, setting aside all questions of form and concentrating our attention purely

upon the interpretation of life of which the *Alkestis* is the vehicle, what estimate must we form of its value? This has been a vexed question since the days of Euripides himself. By Aristophanes the poet of the *Alkestis* was attacked as a sophist who helped to undermine his country's faith, and who, instead of maintaining the high objective standard of Æschylus and Sophocles, encouraged that dissolving subjectivity which in his eyes was undermining the whole fabric of society and could only end in its final overthrow. Now, we must admit that Aristophanes was not wrong in charging Euripides with want of faith in the old ideas; but what he did not see was that only by this death of the old could a transition be made to the new. Euripides was seeking to show that, even though man cannot grasp the law of the universe, he can be true to himself: he can purify his own soul of selfishness and, so far as he does so, he lives a divine life. Like his friend Socrates, Euripides demands self-knowledge and self-purification. There is in man, he seems to say, an infinite capacity for unselfishness, and the true lesson of life is to realize it. Man's lot is indeed sad: he cannot comprehend the ways of providence, as the chorus in the *Alkestis* sings in its final ode; or, as they express it still more clearly in an early ode:

"They, too, upborne by airy help of song,  
And haply science, which can find the stars,  
Had searched the heights: had sounded depths as well  
By catching much at books where logic lurked,  
Yet nowhere found they aught could overcome  
Necessity."

And especially nothing can overcome that last form of Necessity—death. Now, here, I think we reach the characteristic defect of Euripides' conception of life. To Æschylus and Sophocles "Necessity" (*ἀναγκή*) was not a blind unintelligible force: it was an unalterable law of the divine government. No doubt, it could not be evaded, but the pious man had no desire to evade it, being convinced that it made for righteousness. Euripides, on the other hand, can see nothing in Necessity but an unintelligible limit to humanity—something to which he must submit, but which he need never hope to understand. Therefore, like Matthew Arnold in his earlier mood, he can only lament a vanished faith

and fall back upon the great elemental affections of humanity. The optimism of Euripides is thus limited and subjective: love illuminates, not life, but the heart of man, and he who has learned this lesson need not despair. If, bearing this in mind, we look at the character of Alkestis, we shall see that its beauty carries at its heart a deep vein of melancholy. The love of Alkestis for her by no means heroic husband is stained by no taint of selfishness; but, on the other hand, it is based purely upon immediate feeling, not upon any great religious principle. She goes to death, we might almost say, as a voluntary but not as a willing victim. She has no gladness in her self-sacrifice, but rather the hopeless resignation of self-denial. Now here, I think, we find the essential distinction between Euripides' interpretation of life and the Christian; for in Christianity the sting of death is removed by the glad consciousness of being a fellow-worker with God. How differently a Christian poet would treat the story of Alkestis we are fortunately not left in doubt; for Browning, feeling the inadequacy of Euripides' treatment, has sketched a new Alkestis. Here is the play as transformed by the divine breath of Christianity.

The fruit of Apollo's service of King Admetus was a transformation "within the heart o' the master." His selfish desires were so 'tamed' by the golden tongue of the god,

"That, in the plenitude of youth and power,  
Admetos vowed himself to rule thenceforth  
In Pherai solely for his people's sake."

And so the struggle ended. Right ruled might:  
And soft yet brave, and good yet wise, the man  
Stood up to be a monarch: having learned  
The worth of life, life's worth would he bestow  
On all whose lot was cast, to live or die,  
As he determined for the multitude."

Vain resolution! For soon Admetos learned that he must die, and leave all his aspirations unfulfilled.

Whereat the monarch, calm, addressed himself  
To die, but bitterly the soul outbrake—

" O prodigality of life, blind waste  
 I' the world, of power profuse without the will  
 To make life do its work, deserve its day ! "

But his wife Alkestis, seeing his sadness, broke in exultantly :

" Nay, thou art to live ! "

From Apollo she had learned the coming fate, and had obtained  
 the privilege of dying in his stead.

" So was the pact concluded that I die,  
 And thou live on, live for thyself, for me,  
 For all the world. Embrace and bid me hail,  
 Husband, because I have the victory—  
 Am, heart, soul, head to foot, one happiness ! "

Admetos is horror-struck : never shall his wife die for him :

" All the unwise wish is unwished, oh wife !  
 Let purposes of Zeus fulfil themselves,  
 If not through me, then through some other man !

But Alkestis sees life in a larger way than her husband :

" Wouldst thou, for any joy to be enjoyed,  
 For any sorrow that thou might'st escape,  
 Unwill thy will to reign a righteous king ?

What ? thou soundest in my soul  
 To depths below the deepest, reachest good  
 In evil, that makes evil good again,  
 And so allottest to me that I live  
 And not die—letting die, not thee alone,  
 But all true life that lived in both of us ?  
 Look at me once ere thou decree the lot ! "

Therewith her whole soul entered into his,  
 He looked the look back, and Alkestis died."

Then the soul of Alkestis went to the underworld and demanded to become a ghost before the time. But the Queen of that world—the " pensive queen o' the twilight ",—

" Searched at a glance Alkestis to the soul,  
 And said—while a long slow sigh lost itself  
 I' the hard and hollow passage of a laugh :  
 ' Hence, thou deceiver ! This is not to die,  
 If, by the very death which mocks me now,

The life, that's left behind and past my power,  
Is formidably doubled . . . .  
Two souls in one were formidable odds :  
Admetos must not be himself and thou ! "

And so, before the embrace relaxed a whit,  
The lost eyes opened, still beneath the look ;  
And lo, Alkestis was alive again,  
And of Admetos' rapture who shall speak ?

So, the two lived together long and well,  
But never could I learn, by word of scribe  
Or voice of poet, rumour wafts our way,  
That—of the scheme of rule in righteousness,  
The bringing back again the Golden Age,  
Which, rather than renounce, our pair would die—  
That ever one faint particle came true,  
With both alive to bring it to effect :  
Such is the envy gods still bear mankind ! "

The conception of life presented by the Christian poet is widely different from that of his pagan predecessor. Alkestis is the same, and yet how infinite the difference ! She is the same in that swift anticipative love which loses itself in another. But in depth and complexity of soul she is a new being. Her self-abnegation is not a half irrational sacrifice for an individual, but a glad surrender to what the individual stands for. The new Alkestis, widened by all the influences of culture and ennobling experience, is no longer the blind devotee of natural affection, but, with her wide clear intelligence she is the equal of her husband and excels him in the fineness of her perceptions as in the capacity for sinking herself in another. It is she who revives in Admetos' mind, when his manly generosity and love revolt from the sacrifice of his wife, the vision which in his inspired moment had arisen before him of a renovated world, and refuses to accept a lower in place of a higher good. And this perfect type of womanly devotion has its counterpart in the perfect type of manhood. Admetos values his life, because he believes that he is to be the instrument of good to his people ; but, when he sees that he must depart, he never dreams for a moment that the regeneration of

the world is at an end : his belief in divine providence is absolute ; and, if he must die, that fact also has a place in the perfect harmony of the whole. Thus he

reaches good

In evil, that makes evil good again.

Yet, as Browning intimates, the ideal of a regenerate humanity, for which these noble souls were willing to lay down their lives, is after all only an ideal. The Golden Age cannot be brought back, or, let us rather say, cannot be anticipated. For, after all, man is man and not a god : were the Absolute completely realized, the source of all effort would be gone. Without a belief in the ideal, man sinks into the mire of selfish passion and his life becomes brute-like ; but, without an impassioned sympathy for the weakness and sins of others, he would dwell in the calm passionless tranquillity of the gods. Thus, life is a continual effort towards an ideal which continually expands and widens, and, judged by this standard of absolute perfection, we must say that after we have done all we are unprofitable servants. Without criticising the form in which Browning presents his thought—a form which to me seems inadequate, since the ideal must in some sense be realized, or life is a complete failure—we must, I think, admit that in this beautiful picture of two complementary souls, united in their love of all that is good and beautiful and true, united in their enthusiasm of humanity, and united in their faith in a soul of goodness in things evil, we have a noble presentation of the Christian as compared with the Pagan ideal of human life. Euripides paints for us the desperate clinging of the soul to the divine prompting of natural affection ; Browning that transfigured love which lifts the individual to a point of view in which his best self is recognized to be but a single note which helps to enrich the perfect harmony of the whole.

J. WATSON.

## BEYSCHLAG'S NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY\*.

THIS is one of the works which remind us of Carlyle's phrase "Learned, indefatigable, deep-thinking Germany"; especially of the adjective 'indefatigable.' For, a work that professes to discuss the theological conceptions, explicit and implicit, in the New Testament, has a wide field to cover. One useful purpose which it will serve is to call our attention anew to the wealth of thought condensed into the New Testament.

But can there be a Theology of the New Testament? One well-known exegete said recently that there cannot be a Theology of the Old Testament, which seems to imply that the writers of the Old Testament regard things from so many different points of view that it is impossible to compress all their ideas into one system. Beyschlag anticipates such a question by suggesting that amid all the variety of thought and method in the New Testament, there is an underlying unity which justifies us in regarding it as one whole. At the same time he finds the differences among the New Testament writers so considerable that he virtually deals with six different Theologies, different, that is, in point of view, method, and in aim, though not necessarily different in fundamental ideas. These may now be enumerated, with brief references to the more important positions of Dr. Beyschlag as to the sources from which he seeks to gather these Theologies. In this way some idea may be given of Beyschlag's method and of his conclusions.

1. *The Teaching of Jesus according to the Synoptists.* There were *two main sources* for our Synoptic Gospels—a collection of the sayings of Jesus in Aramaic, and a source of the nature of a narrative; consequently a genuine tradition underlies each of these Gospels. In each we have genuine words of Jesus. "Papias has attested the existence of a collection of sayings (of Jesus) which the Apostle Matthew, that is, one of the constant companions of Jesus, composed in Hebrew (Aramaic); and this

\*Fleming H. Revell Company, Yonge Street, Toronto, for T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.

earliest, most reliable, and richest source of knowledge of the teaching of Jesus, may be recognized in the speeches with which the first and third evangelists break in upon the sequence of their chief source. But even this main narrative source which they both have in common with the Gospel of Mark, and which, at any rate, appears in Mark's Gospel with least change, the primitive Gospel contains a treasure of doctrinal sayings of Jesus." Vol. i. 29,30.

But there are sayings attributed to Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels which are doubtful, e. g. Apocalyptic passages. These "have to be dealt with in detail, the abiding proof of their genuineness is the quite definite and inimitable impress which distinguishes the essentially permanent character of the synoptic sayings of Jesus, not only from all the wisdom of this world, but also from the other sayings of the New Testament." Vol. i. 31. For "even the Gospel which tradition has baptized with the name of Matthew has for convincing reasons no claim to Apostolic origin." Vol. ii. 474.

2. *The Teaching of Jesus according to the Gospel of John.* While admitting the difficulties in the way of accepting this Gospel as genuine, a consideration of the whole subject compels us to hold that the Apostle John is the author. "The life of Jesus in its issue had contradicted their (the Apostles,) original ideas and expectations, and compelled the Apostles, according to their mental characteristics, to reconsider their impressions and recollections, and so, under the guidance of the Spirit they attained a new understanding of what they had experienced, and were able to speak of it in a new and spiritual fashion. Little wonder, then, if, in the Apostle's long life, the original text and the meaning of it which the Spirit had taught him were involuntarily joined so closely that in old age when he sought to write down what he had seen and heard, objective and subjective could no longer be separated." Vol. i., 222. "Remembrance and exposition had become to him so inseparable that he could only bring forth his picture of Jesus, and especially the sayings of Jesus, in an original resulting from the fusion of his own spiritual life. But although we must, on that account, take no notice of the Johannine source in constructing a picture of



Jesus that is to be authentic even in form, we are still in possession of a sufficient and well-attested tradition." Vol. i. 29.

3. *Views of the first Apostles.* Our knowledge of these views is to be gained from the *Acts of the Apostles*, *James* and *1 Peter*. "A thoughtful criticism will find in the *Acts of the Apostles*—even in the earlier Petrine part—just as firm historical ground as in the Gospels. It may be granted to that criticism, that the earliest church historian who speaks here does not fulfil all our modern claims, that the sources he apparently made use of were defective and unequal, that he lacked the full keenness of historical investigation as well as the power of characterization. Misconceptions and legendary deposits here and there are clearly discernible, and, in particular, a thin veil of legendary embellishing already hung over the narrative of the origin and development of the primitive Church in Palestine. But through this veil the facts still shine with such vividness and uniqueness, that we can determine the real state of things in all its essential features." Vol. i. 301.

So also in *James* and in *1 Peter* abundant historical references can be found to show that they are genuine products of the Apostolic age.

4. *The Pauline System.* The sources for this are (a) All the Epistles traditionally ascribed to Paul except the Pastoral Epistles and Hebrews. (b). The speeches of Paul recorded in *Acts*.

With regard to the Pastoral Epistles "we may confidently say the man who is now able to ascribe it (i.e. the greatest of the three, *1 Tim.*) to the author of the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians has never comprehended the literary peculiarity and greatness of the Apostle." Vol. i. 4. *Colossians* was probably written earlier than *Ephesians*, then soon after a circular letter was sent to several churches generalizing the ideas of the Epistle to the Colossians; this reached the Ephesian Church first and thus got its name. "As the case stands thus, there is no reason for separating the doctrinal contents of the Thessalonians or the Epistles of the Captivity, from that of the four great main Epistles." Vol. ii. 5.

"To the Epistles we may add as sources of a second rank, the discourses of Paul in the *Acts of the Apostles*. They are not

of course to be regarded as verbal reports, but only as sketches noted down from memory." Vol. ii. 6.

5. *Continuation of the Primitive Apostolic method of teaching.* The sources for this are *Hebrews*, *The Revelation*, the *Johannine Epistles* and the Fourth Gospel. These were written by men whose Christology had more affinity with the teaching of the primitive Apostles than with that of Paul, but at the same time "they betray a progress which has kept step with Paul's own views." *Hebrews* was written just before the destruction of Jerusalem to prevent the Hebrews from relapsing into a Judaic Christianity. The Apocalypse was written about the same time. "We can easily understand that the author (of the Apocalypse) writing in the Roman Empire, was compelled to clothe his views about that empire in figurative and enigmatic language, which none but Christian readers could understand." It is difficult to pronounce definitely as to the author of the Apocalypse, though it is probable it was written by the author of the Fourth Gospel. The contrast (as to the style, mode of thought, etc.) between the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel is hardly so great as between Goethe's first drama and his *Iphigenia*.

With regard to the Johannine Epistles, there can be no real doubt as to their spiritual affinities with the Fourth Gospel, yet there is just so much difference as to lead to the inference of their being utterances of the same man at different periods, but not to the supposition that one is an attempted imitation of the other.

6. *Common Christian and Apostolic Modes of teaching.* The sources are the *Synoptic Gospels*, *Acts*, *Jude*, *11 Peter*, and the *Pastoral Epistles*. But the *Synoptists* and the *Acts* are used here simply for the incidental and indirect utterances of the personal opinion of the writers. The authors of these were reporters, narrators, yet they frequently betray, directly or indirectly, a standpoint of their own. As to this standpoint, the first (Matthew) represents the Jewish Christian view, the third (Luke) the Pauline, while the second (Mark) shows a naive neutrality between them. With respect to the Epistles, *Jude* and *11 Peter* were written by men mainly dominated by the teaching of the first Apostles, while the *Pastoral Epistles* were written by an author

under the influence of Pauline ideas. Their date is in the early part of the second century.

This is a brief and inadequate summary of Beyschlag's conclusions on New Testament Criticism. It is almost entirely in his own words, but references have been given only where a direct quotation is made. The quotations will give some suggestions as to his method. But, it may be objected, this is not Theology. Beyschlag however holds that our first duty in coming to the historical documents of our religion is to make ourselves acquainted with their origin, the place and character of their connection with the progress of a historical revelation; only when this has been done are we in a position to estimate their Theological content. Having made this examination he next proceeds to a study of each of these six groups of sources in search of the Theological ideas. This search falls, in the main, under the following heads.—*Theology, Anthropology, The Person of Christ, Soteriology*, though he does not use the technical terms to any extent.

It will probably be more to our purpose to take one subject and observe his method with that, than to attempt to deal with all in the limits of an article. Let us take a subject which is virtually the kernel of the whole (the Person of Christ) and briefly follow him on his way to his position.

This question emerges in dealing with the teaching of Jesus as recorded by the Synoptists, and we have to ask—did Jesus teach His own divine descent? and our answer must be that even if we admit that Jesus cherished the idea of a special divine descent, "it could only amount to a conviction of having come forth from God as a human personality in a unique way, that is of having been originally planned and prepared in a very special way for his vocation . . . it would not imply the consciousness of having as a divine person passed from a former heavenly life into an earthly existence. There is no trace of such a consciousness in His testimony about Himself as recorded in the Synoptists, and we may even say there is no room for it." Vol. i. 72. Moreover the name Son of God forbids such an idea, because, (a) in its source in the Old Testament and in its use by Jesus, it presupposes the humanity of

those to whom it is applied. cf. Matt. v. 9, 45. (b) It distinguishes the bearer of it from God and therefore marks him out as human. And the passages in the Synoptists in which Jesus virtually asserts His humanity, "make it so certain that the consciousness of Jesus was at bottom purely human, that only an unconquerable dogmatic prejudice, springing from scholastic tradition and misunderstanding of what religion requires, can resist the force of this testimony. Vol. i. 75. At the same time we learn that Jesus was "perfectly sinless", and was truly one with God, for "If the pure in heart see God, must not the countenance of God in its whole purity be reflected in the absolutely pure human heart." We therefore conclude that the synoptic testimony of Jesus about Himself does not contain a trace of that Theology of later days, by which the Church tried to explain to herself the union of the human and divine. "It does not even contain a trace of the pre-existence idea in which Paul and John gave to the Church a starting-point for the subsequent Theology." Vol. i. 79.

The same testimony to the purely human consciousness of Jesus pervades the Fourth Gospel. The idea is most completely and emphatically expressed that the communion of Jesus with God was purely ethical; even the great saying, "I and my Father are one," "does not mean: we form together with the Holy Spirit a triune God; but, as the context undeniably proves, we are so completely of one heart and one soul, that what is in my hand is at the same time in my Almighty Father's hand from which no man can pluck it." Vol. i. 248. At the same time it is not to be denied that there are passages in this Gospel which express the idea of the pre-existence of Jesus, e.g., John vi: 62, viii: 58, xvii: 4, 5, 24. These passages taken in connection with the prologue have been used to support the idea that Jesus knew Himself to be the personal Logos who lived in heavenly glory with the Father before He came into the world, and brought the memory of that life with Him when He did come. But we must remember that pre-existence in an ideal sense, was a familiar idea to the Jews in the time of Jesus. "Everything holy and divine that appeared on earth, or was expected, was traced back to a heavenly original in which it pre-existed before

its earthly appearance." Vol. i. 251. (e. g. The Tabernacle, Heb. viii, 5.) (The City of Jerusalem, Gal. iv, 26, and Rev. xxi, 10.) "That the ideal man existed from eternity in God, is the truth which He (Jesus) grasped, and to which He gave concrete intellectual form." Vol. i. 253. And if it be argued that the sayings in the Fourth Gospel about pre-existence, express the actual existence of a personality distinct from God, the answer is, that such an argument rests upon a modern distinction between the ideal and actual, which is foreign to the concrete biblical thought.

In the Pauline system we find substantially the same view,—Paul's Christology was anthropocentric, but also he has quite manifestly the idea of the pre-existence of Jesus, especially in *Colossians* and *Philippians*. One very noticeable characteristic of Paul's references to this idea is that "he nowhere really establishes or teaches the pre-existence of Christ, but presupposes it as familiar to his readers, and disputed by no one." Vol. ii. 78. When we seek for an explanation of how this idea came to Paul we find that it can hardly have been from the words of Jesus, but rather from the pre-Christian Logos idea in its wider sense; for "the tendency to distinguish God in His self-existence, in His secret nature, from His revelation in the world, runs with increasing strength through Old Testament thought," and is carried further in the Apocrypha. So, what Paul has done is to identify the Logos idea with the person of Jesus; and this, though it contains a profound truth, overlooks the distinction between an idea and a person, consequently the idea itself is conceived as a person existing eternally before the birth of the actual historical person. We may therefore sum up the truth which underlies the views of both John and Paul by saying that the pre-existence of Jesus is simply a concrete form given to an ideal conception.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews we have a more developed Christology, for while this Epistle aims in many ways to make prominent the humanity of Jesus, yet it is manifest that Jesus is to the writer a pre-temporal, eternal being, a unique higher being next to God. Heb. i. 3, 8, 9. Still, it is not difficult to see that this is simply an extension of Paul's view. There can be no

doubt that the Logos idea, that is, the idea of a principle of revelation distinguished from God and accounting for the creation of the world, was familiar to Jewish thinking. "Consequently a personification of an intermediate principle of divine revelation . . . . the idea of a 'reflection and expression' of a hidden God was there before Jesus appeared." Vol. ii. 311. Hence when he appeared and men began to express their views about Him, it was natural to apply this Logos idea to Him, and to say that, "That eternal and real idea had taken flesh and blood in Him; the Mediator of the perfect revelation was also the Mediator of the initial revelation—the creation of the world." The author of *Hebrews* "with naive biblical realism from the first personified the Logos; but undoubtedly he never felt the difficulty which this created, because his thought, like all the thought of antiquity, was not directed to the idea of personality and its pre-conditions." Vol. ii. 313. Even in *Heb.* iv. 12 f., the word of God which penetrates and judges the world is placed as impersonal beside the idea of the personified Logos. It is clear that if the word of God by which the world is created, ruled and judged is not a person, then the pre-existent Son by whom all this is also said to be done, can only be another personification of the same idea." Vol. ii. 314. We therefore conclude that the author of *Hebrews* was not able to distinguish between an idea bearing personal features and an actual historical personalty.

We are thus led to the conclusion that all the New Testament representatives of the Logos Christology are quite unconscious of the difficulties and contradictions which the idea of pre-existence put in the way of the Anthropocentric presupposition of of their Christology; and this is due to the fact that they did not construct their Christology from the ideas of pre-existence and the Logos, they simply availed themselves of the idea of the Logos to give their Christology a place in eternity; in other words, the true foundation of their Christology is the personal impression of the human and historical Jesus, the Logos idea is taken from the theology of the time as a help to interpret that personal impression for his own thought and that of his contemporaries. cf. Vol. ii. 423, f.

But, the question may occur, what is the meaning and value of

the death and resurrection of a merely human Jesus? Beyschlag's answer must be given in a few words. "His (Jesus,) death is only to complete the work of cleansing which this whole intercourse with them as a teacher had begun. And it really has the power of completing it; for the highest act of divine love, is to lay down life itself in obedience to God and in love for the brethren; how could such an act fail to cleanse from all remains of sinful selfseeking, those who lay it to heart?" That is, in Beyschlag's view, the death of Jesus must be regarded from the ethical, dynamic, point of view and not from the ritual and juridical; he holds that the theory of the death of Jesus as an expiatory sacrifice must be rejected as being a mere remnant of scholastic theology which the Church retained as a doctrine because she had nothing better to put in its place.

But while our justification is thus rendered possible by the death of Jesus, it can only be communicated to us by His resurrection. For Beyschlag believes in the resurrection of Jesus as a truly objective and supernatural event. "It is wasted effort trying to explain the resurrection on purely subjective, psychological, or pathological grounds. Only as a truly objective supernatural event does it take its place in the historical and psychological conditions of the time." Vol. i. 303.

We have now before us a statement of Beyschlag's position and some hint as to the extent of his work. What is the value of this work? It is manifest that in it we have a quite unfettered and yet reverent discussion of the questions involved. Beyschlag finds himself compelled to reject many things which are ordinarily accepted, but his aim is, in such cases, to give us something more satisfying both to the religious consciousness and to reason than that which he criticises. How far he succeeds in doing this is a question on which there will be a difference of opinion. Probably he has himself anticipated the general result when he tells us that his work will not be acceptable to either the traditional or the critical school. The fact is he attempts to hold a mediating position. His strength as well as his weakness lies here. His mediating position delivers him from some of the extreme views on either side and thus is a source of strength. His weakness comes from not having a sufficiently assured basis of his own.

His discussions of the *sources* is the best and most reliable part of his work, and his results here are upon the whole more in harmony with the view ordinarily held by the Church. His discussions of the doctrines leans, in its results, to the side of the critical school, and though here also, he has much that is stimulating and suggestive, it will be found on the whole less certain, and less valuable than the result of his consideration of the sources, in other words, his constructive work is the weakest. Still, the work as a whole is very comprehensively done, and Beyschlag will certainly have to be reckoned with by all who attempt to deal with New Testament Theology.

JOHN SHARP.

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### AUTUMN.

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Now Autumn in a russet gown  
 Her sceptre sways.  
 Of yellow leaves, and red, and brown,  
 She weaves a crown  
 For sunny days;—  
 And leaves go dancing wild and free  
 O'er hill and lea.

But ah! There come with Autumn's days  
 Full dreary hours;  
 And tho' we love her merry ways,  
 We miss the lays  
 Of birds,—the flowers  
 That bloomed in beauteous pride  
 On every side.

The winds go moaning thro' the wold,  
 The heavens frown,  
 The rain falls pitiless and cold,  
 And dulls the gold  
 In Autumn's crown:—  
 In corners heaped the leaves are lying,  
 And Autumn's dying.

KINGSTON.

H. H. D.



## SOME NOTES ON WIDOWS.

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VOLTAIRE says that the origin of divorce was doubtless subsequent, by some days, to that of marriage. For similar reasons we think marriage existed before widowhood. There is no positive proof that Eve was ever a widow; she probably was, however, for she was always disagreeable. According to the Rabbis, when she had to be drawn out of the side of the sleeping Adam, she was not extracted by the head, lest she should be vain; nor by the eyes, lest she should be wanton; nor by the mouth, lest she should be given to gossiping; nor by the ears, lest she should be meddlesome; nor by the heart, lest she should be jealous; but she was drawn forth by the side; yet notwithstanding all these precautions she had every fault specially guarded against.

It has been judicially decided that a woman may be a wife and a widow at the same time. This was in an action brought under a statute by a woman against a railway company for killing her husband, and it was held the claim was not lost by a second marriage subsequent to the commencement of the action. The court said "the word 'Widow' indicates the person, not the state, and it is used as synonymous with wife." The lady was allowed to enjoy the \$7,000 the jury gave her for the death of her old husband in company with the new man. "This young widow had waited some four years, and then in no hot haste, but decently after a long widowhood comparatively, married again." (24 Am., Rep. 492.) A divorced woman is not a widow. (6 Ind. 231.)

Among savages, where the wife was either captured or bought by the husband, as a rule after his death she was still considered as part of his property. This is very generally the custom in negro Africa; among some of the tribes the son inherits his father's widows; among others the heir or successor puts them up for sale at auction; and we are told that where the first husband has been a prince, the wives, even though old and ugly, sell

readily and for good prices, for even in that land people like to own what a king has had. Sometimes the heir merely exacts an indemnity if the widow marries again. Another simple way of getting rid of widows much in vogue among primitive societies was sacrificing them on the tomb of their late lord and master. In many cases the sacrifices were inspired by affectionate sentiments; the husband needed the services and companionship of his wife, or wives, in his desolate and dangerous journeys beyond the tomb. Sometimes the wives voluntarily departed this life; in others, they were assisted out with rapidity by relatives or officials.

In India, the laws of Menu were harder upon a widow than upon a widower, (probably because women had no votes in his days.) The latter had to burn his wife's corpse with consecrated fire and with utensils of sacrifice, if she had obeyed the precepts and was of the same class as himself; after this he was to contract a new marriage. But nowhere in this code is the right of taking a second husband assigned to a virtuous wife; it says, "let her willingly emaciate her body by feeding on flowers, roots and fruits; but after losing her husband let her not pronounce the name of another man." The Smriti enacts that a widow shall never exceed one meal a day, or sleep on a bed; if she does her husband falls from Swarga (the Heaven of Indra and the other gods, upon Mount Moru, whither go the good Hindoos when they die.) The Suttee, or widow-burning, existed from early days, although not mentioned by Menu. Diodorus speaks of it. In Bengal, a childless widow enjoyed her husband's property for life. The Brahmins urged such a one to burn herself, because they did not wish her to inherit property—as a woman could not properly perform the religious rites required of the heirs; the relatives urged this "happy departure", because they came into possession as soon as she went out. A widow with infant children was not expected to ascend the funeral pyre. Great rewards in the future life were held out as inducements to this auto-de-fa. The Gentoo law-giver said, "it is proper for a woman after her husband's death to burn herself in the fire with his corpse; every woman who thus burns herself, shall remain in Paradise with her husband three score and fifty lacs of years (*i.e.* thirty-five millions of years, quite long enough for most husbands and wives to be to-

gether)." One Antigras, a learned Pundit, put it in this way, "the wife who commits herself to the flames with her husband's corpse shall equal Arunhati, the wife of Vasishiha, and reside in Swarza (heaven); with her husband she shall reside in Swarza as many years as are the thirty-five millions of hairs on the human body. As the snake catcher forcibly draws the serpent from the earth, so bearing her husband from hell with him she shall enjoy heavenly bliss. Dying with her husband she sanctifies her maternal and paternal ancestors, and his as well. Such a wife adoring her husband has celestial felicity with him, greatest, most admired; with him she shall enjoy the delights of heaven while fourteen Indras reign. Though her husband had killed a Brahmin, broken the ties of gratitude, or murdered his friend such a one expiates the crime." Vyasa declares that the widow, on the news of her husband's dying in a far country, should expeditiously burn herself; and the Brahma Purana says, that if he die on a journey the widow should pass into the flames holding his sandals to her breast. If however, love of self, or dread of death, induced the widow to live on, she was deemed defiled and had to pass her days in chastity performing acts of piety and mortification. (Halled's Centoo Code, p. 286. Asiatic Researches, Vol. 4, p. 206.)

In China, the widow is made by her parents to marry again, or rather is sold again, her consent not being asked; but the law will not allow of this before the expiration of the time of mourning. If the widow wishes to escape a second marriage she must become a priestess, or sacrifice herself at her husband's tomb.

The Archon in Athens was specially charged with the duty of caring for widows. (Schoman's Antiquities of Greece, 502). Fortunately no law was ever promulgated founded upon the action of the widow Artemisia; she loved her husband so much that she had his dead body reduced to ashes and then drank them in her liquor. Not content with being herself the tomb, she erected the first Mausoleum to his memory, gave prizes for panegyrics upon him and died two years after he did, choked to death by grief,—or ashes.

In early Rome widows who did not marry were particularly honored; and they were forbidden to marry without a delay of

twelve months. In time, however, the *Lex Julia* and the *Lex Papia Poppæa* encouraged second marriages. But Constantine, when he came to the throne, returned to the old ideas of primitive Rome, and inflicted pecuniary penalties on those marrying a second time; these were payable to the children of the first marriage. In the Middle Ages the Lombards required a widow to get the consent of her son before going to the altar again, while Theodoric, adopting the Church's opinions, forbade a woman marrying twice, and condemned to the flames any man who married her. (Letourneau's "Evolution of Marriages," pps. 255, 261, 262.)

In the neighborhood of Bigorre (well known to the readers of *Lucile*) an exemption was allowed in favor of the widow whose husband had been slain in war. Until she remarried, or her sons were of age to bear arms, she was free from all legal process—a provision evidently intended to relieve her from the duel in which suits were liable to terminate in those days of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. (Lea's "Superstition and Force," p. 146.)

The Canonists considered that in the matrimonial line one widow was equal to at least two maids, and deemed a man who married a widow to have been twice married; and they defined a bigamist to be one who had espoused two or more spinsters successively, or one widow. (Why this high estimate of the widow? On account of the greater pleasure derivable from their company, or their greater danger to the poor masculine soul?) These Canonists had a very poor opinion of matrimony at any time.

Among many, and widely severed nations, the brother of a deceased husband had to marry his sister-in-law when she became a widow. Such was the law among some of the Melaneseans, among the Red Men, in Siberia and Tartary, among the Afghans and the Mongols, as well as among the Hindoos and the Hebrews; but the custom, in details, varied among the different peoples. With some it was only a temporary marriage.

In early days, in England, widow's weeds were not expected to be long lived. King Ethelred II., in his laws, said: "Let every widow who conducts herself lawfully be in God's 'grith' (peace and protection) and the King's, and let every one continue

XII months husbandless; afterwards let her choose what she herself will." Canute (the monarch who sat in his chair until his feet got damped by the incoming tide) passed a similar enactment, but seemed to have an idea that widows were so fond of matrimony that something more than a mere command was requisite to keep them mourning a reasonable time for the departed, and so he added, "And if the widow within the space of a year choose a husband, then let her forfeit her 'morgengyfu' and all the possessions which she had through her first husband; and let the nearest kinsman take the lands and possessions which she had before, and let him (the husband) be liable in his 'wer' to the King, or to him to whom he may have granted it. And though she be taken forcibly, let her forfeit the possessions until she be willing to go home again from the man, and never again be his. And let not a widow take the veil too precipitately." (Ancient Laws of England, Ethelred, ch. 9, sec. 21; Ch. 6, sec. 26: Laws of King Canute, Secular, 74.) It might be as well to explain the two strange words just used, as perhaps some of our lady readers have not made a specialty of Anglo-Saxon. "Morgengyfu," the morning gift, is the present the husband gave to his wife the morning after the marriage to show that so far he was satisfied with his choice, and on his demise this was deemed her separate property. The "wer" was the amount at which a man's life was valued, and which, if he was slain, had to be paid to his relatives, and which he himself had to pay if found guilty of grievous offences. It varied with a man's standing in the social world. A heavy price, therefore, the luckless couple had to pay for too impassioned and impetuous wooing.

In many of the Redskin tribes of this continent second marriages were not allowed until after a long delay; the widower had to submit to this rule as well as the widow. Some tribes considered two years sufficient, but the Omahas insisted upon a waiting of from four to seven years. If a widow was too hasty about re-marrying, the parents of the deceased husband could strike and wound her as they wished, but not unto death.

In ancient Greece a widow could not, without indecency, take a second husband until she had woven a shroud for her deceased lord, or if his corpse was not available, then for that of his nearest relative. Eligible suitors might long be kept in suspense

while this work was being done, for, like the chaste Penelope, the undecided widow might "each day unravel what the day begun."

In nearly all countries where the English Common Law prevails (and, by the way, the Common Law, like vulgar fractions, is a thing not to be despised by the most aristocratic American) until recent innovations and changes, a widow has been entitled to dower—that is to have during her natural life, for her sole and only use, the one-third part of the lands and tenements which her husband owned at the time he shuffled off this mortal coil, or which he had owned during their wedded life, unless she had signed it away. (Alas! this useful thing is vanishing on this continent like the Red man. In the North-West it has gone as completely as the buffalo; here, the virtuous woman has it still.) Some writers say that this right came over to England with the Normans at the Conquest; of course it came to America in the Mayflower. Blackstone, however, considers that Sweyn, of Denmark, introduced it into England out of gratitude to the ladies who sold their jewels to ransom him from the clutches of the Vandals. Mr. Maine thinks the Church, after having long made the man promise with all his worldly goods to endow his spouse, at last got the provision as to dower inserted in the law of the land. Our readers may take their choice of these theories.

To prevent juvenile marriages, in the hope of enjoying dower, it was early settled that no widow should be entitled to dower unless she was fully nine years old at the time of her husband's death; his age was a matter of complete indifference. The marriage, to entitle to dower, must have been a legal one, and the wife loses all claim if she commit treason or a felony, or elopes and remains an eloper, or obtains a divorce. The husband must have had actual possession of the property or the legal right to it. This point came up in the days of good Queen Bess. A man and his son were both hanged at the same time from the same cart; they were both married men, and both left widows. The widow of the son claimed dower in lands that the old gentleman had owned; the claim was disputed, but, fortunately for her, she was able to produce witnesses, who swore upon the Holy Evangelists, that they had seen the son kick his legs after his father's death. The court held that this proved that he had lived long

enough to take the land as heir to his father, and so gave the young widow her dower. What a considerate young man! How valuable a husband's kick may be to a wife!

Besides her dower a widow is entitled to her paraphernalia, according to the law of England and of many of the States to the south of us. Her paraphernalia consists of the suitable ornaments and wearing apparel which she had at the time of her marriage, or which come to her through her husband before or during coverture. These remain his while he lives, and he may sell or dispose of them as he sees fit, but when he dies they become hers absolutely. His death is necessary to make her title complete, and herein paraphernalia differs from separate property. Ornaments for a parlor are not paraphernalia, nor are heirlooms, nor family jewels, although the wife was allowed to wear them, but personal ornaments are, even though the husband kept them in his own possession and only allowed his spouse to sport them on birthdays and other high days and holidays. (*Graham vs. Londonderry*, 3 Atk., 393.) The old books say that if the husband delivers cloth to his wife for her apparel, and he dies before it is made up, she shall have the cloth. (*Com. Dig.*, *Baron & Feme*.) Still these things are liable for the husband's debts during his lifetime, and after his death, if he die insolvent; yet even in this latter case the poor widow's necessary clothing is protected, for, as an ancient judge said, "she ought not to be naked or exposed to shame and cold."

In the old days, prior to the pic-nic held by King John and his Barons at Runymede, an English widow was entitled to remain a whole year in her husband's house after his funeral, and to be maintained therein; but Henry the Third's version of the Great Charter that did so much for the men of England did not help, but hurt, the good women of that land by cutting down this period of free occupancy of the husband's house to a beggarly forty days. This is what lawyers call *quaranture*.

It is unnecessary to explain what is meant by "copyhold lands" in England; we have them not here. *Free-bench*, was the name of the estate which a widow had in such lands. In some manors she was entitled to enjoy it only so long as she remained true to her first husband; any fall from widowhood or virtue caused a forfeiture. Yet even then by doing penance she

might recover her possessions. The penance consisted of the erring one coming into the Manor Court, riding backwards on a black ram, holding his tail in her hand, and chanting some doggerel rhymes appropriate to the occasion. Our modesty prevents our giving the words, but Mr. Addison in his "Spectator" had no such qualms.

In Holland the law concerning a widow's dower gave rise to a very picturesque custom, which was brought across the ocean by the founders of Manhattan. A widow was entitled to her dower in all her husband's estate, but, on the other hand, she was bound to pay her share of the debts. If the debts exceeded the estate left by him, the obligations might sweep away all her own private property. As this was a consummation to be avoided, a mode was provided by which she might legally renounce her debts, and by doing this she was released from the creditors of her deceased spouse. Having obtained permission from the court, and having selected a guardian, the widow, in borrowed garments, and retaining nothing in her possession which she had received from her husband, stood before his bier. Handing a straw to her guardian, he threw it on the coffin, renouncing and surrendering in her name the dower and all interest in the estate. The widow of the sovereign of Holland performed this ceremony in 1404. In some of the other Dutch Provinces the custom varied slightly, the widow placing her keys and her purse on her husband's tomb. This was done in that same year by the widow of the Count of Flanders. In New York (in early days) the widow pushed away the estate with her foot, or laid the key on the coffin. In Pennsylvania a widow, whose first husband had died insolvent, when number two appeared gave her clothes to the creditors and was married in her shift. The rigour of this curious example of commercial morality by degrees was mitigated, and the new groom supplied needful garments. The custom lasted until the middle of the eighteenth century. (Campbell's "The Puritan in Holland," etc., Vol. II, p. 453; Lecky's "England in XVIII Century," Vol. III, p. 309.) In the State of Vermont, at an early period, by some strange perversion of legal principles, people were led to believe that whoever should marry a widow, who was the administratrix of her husband's estate, and should through her come into possession of anything



that the late lamented departed had purchased, would render himself administrator in his own wrong, and liable for the estate and debts of his predecessor. The fascinating widows, however, found a way to overcome the difficulty, and smooth the way by which number two might approach Hymen's altar hand in hand with number one's relict. Here is how the widow of Major Peter Lovejoy married Asa Averill: "By the side of the chimney in the widow's house was a recess of considerable size. Across this a blanket was stretched in such a manner as to form a small enclosure. Into this Mrs. Lovejoy passed with her attendants, who completely disrobed her and threw her clothes into the room. She then thrust her hand through a small aperture purposely made in the blanket. The proffered member was clasped by Mr. Averill, and in this position he was married to the nude widow on the other side of the woollen curtain. He then produced a complete assortment of wedding attire, which was slipped into the recess. The new Mrs. Averill soon appeared in full dress, ready to receive the congratulations of the company, and to join in their hearty rustic festivities." (Hall's "History of Eastern Vermont.")

A New York Judge once remarked that "the court will always lean strongly towards the widow." Yet it must be remembered that there are widows and widows, and courts and courts, and all widows may not be as attractive, and all courts not so susceptible, as the New York widow and judge. Certainly, widows do not always get their own way when they go to law. Once upon a time in South Carolina, on a sale of lands under a mortgage, a widow, who was dependent upon the property for her support, requested the bystanders not to bid against her. She bought the property without opposition, but the court set the sale aside. In North Carolina, however, such a sale was upheld when there was no proof that the auctioneer connived with the widow. (17 S. E. Rep., 145; 65 N. C., 116.)

Sometimes the widow is allowed mourning apparel out of her husband's estate. One judge said "so far as the articles are necessary to enable the widow to appear in decent costume at the obsequies, to pay the last tribute demanded by the solemn occasion of putting to rest the remains of a departed husband, they seem clearly to constitute reasonable funeral expenses," which

the statute directs to be allowed against the estate, whether it be solvent or otherwise; this was in St. Louis. Some American cases have gone just the other way. The variety, that gives such a charm to life in general, is to be found conspicuously in the decisions of judges.

Speaking of clothing, in Vermont a widow is entitled, by statute, to the wearing apparel of her husband. In a dispute over the effects of a naval officer, the majority of the court held that his watch, watch-key, watch-chain, cord and seals, his finger ring, sword and belt were not wearing apparel; but that the epaulets, which were attached to his coat, and the bosom pin, which was attached to the shirt and served to keep it in order, were wearing apparel. Redfield, C. J., however, took a contrary view, and said: "I could not entertain any doubt in regard to the military dress, epaulets and sword of the deceased. It was strictly dress and nothing else. The sword was as strictly dress as the epaulets, and that as much as the sword. It was none of it exclusively for covering or for comfort, but chiefly for ornament. So, too, of the pin and ring; they are as strictly dress as one's sleeve buttons, or indeed as the buttons on the back of the coat, or as anything else which is not strictly indispensable. It seems to me that a watch one wears, and chain and seals, are dress and apparel." The Chief Justice must have been thinking of those lands where the dusky widows are deemed reasonably well clad when they have a ring in their noses. (28 Vt., 254.)

Letters written to a wife by a former husband belong to her and not to his estate, and if she choose to give these billets-doux away her gift of them prevails against any claim that her first husband's executors, or her second husband, may make. (2 Bush, 480.)

A widow must not intermeddle with her late husband's estate, nor assume duties which properly devolve upon his executors or administrators. (L. R. 6, Q. B. 328.) But when she is the executrix or administratrix of her husband's estate she has all the rights and responsibilities of these important but trying positions. A husband is bound to bury his deceased wife, no matter how much worldly pelf she leaves behind her, and although he gets not a tittle of it, if he has anything of his own. When, however, a man dies, his wife is under no obligation to bury him, though

she may be a Dives and he but a Lazarus who existed on her bounty. But an English case decided about fifty years ago seems to regard this subject somewhat differently, and intimates that husband and wife stands upon a like footing as regards the obligation of interring one another. There a widow, who was also an infant, was held bound by her contract to pay for her husband's funeral. The decision proceeded upon the ingenious doctrine that, since a husband ought to bury his wife and lawful children, who are *personæ conjunctæ* with him as a matter of personal benefit to himself, the wife should do the same by her husband as a benefit and comfort to herself. (Schouler, Dom. Rel., Sec. 211; 13 M. & W., 252.)

There have been women who would not suffer their husbands to rest in peace even after they have been buried. But as a rule the courts will not allow widows to transport their husbands' cadavers from cemetery to cemetery. Colonel Wynkoop was, with his wife's approval, buried in his mother's burying place in consecrated ground with the benediction of the Church and the honours of war. Within a year the fickle widow wished to have him somewhere else, but the owners of the cemetery and the husband's relations objected. Mrs. Colonel Wynkoop sought the aid of the court, but the court was ungallant enough to say that she had nothing more to do with the corpse. A Mrs. Metcalfe, having buried her husband in his own lot, where he wished to be, took it into her head to move him again; his only child, who inherited the cemetery lot, applied for an injunction, and Mrs. Metcalfe had to put the remains back again. (6 Wright, 293; 10 Rhode Is., 227.)

The courts, however, approve of devotion, and will protect the widow when she is unduly interfered with in doing honour to her good man's memory. Mrs. Robotham obtained from the St. Pancras Burial Board the right of constructing a private grave in the cemetery, and the exclusive right of burial and interment therein, to hold in perpetuity, for the purpose of burial, and of erecting and placing therein a monument or stone, with a proviso that if the monument or stone, and the appurtenances, should not be kept in order, according to such regulations as should be made by the Board, the grant should be void. In accordance with this grant Mrs. R. placed her husband in her lot, and put up

a head-stone and a kerb around the sides of the grave, leaving an open space at the top over the body, without any stone or other covering. For ten years she kept this open space planted with flowers, employing her own gardener, and thus writing her sorrow "on the bosom of the earth." Then the Board resolved to undertake the planting of flowers exclusively themselves, and they so notified Mrs. R. After this, Mrs. Harris—not the life-long friend of Sairey Gamp, whose existence Mrs. Betsy Prig doubted, but the wife and assistant of Mrs. R.'s gardener—went to the grave to plant some flowers (by Mrs. Robotham's request). She was told to stop, but went on digging in the space and sowing seeds, when Ashby, the officer of the Board, forcibly prevented her. For this assault Mrs. H. summoned the man before the justices, who convicted him and fined him 1s. and 17s. costs. The case was appealed. The court sided with the ladies and upheld the conviction. Bovill, C. J., said, speaking of the exclusive right to a grave: "The grantee would be entitled to plant it, provided she did nothing that was offensive or unsightly. If I could have felt any doubt or difficulty in the matter, it would be very much removed by what Mrs. R. has from time to time been allowed, without objection, to do." Willis, J., said the Board had no right to make special rules which would derogate from prior grants; that whenever memorials are allowed to be put up they are always allowed to be repaired and decorated, even in places of worship. Byles, J., quite agreed, and thought that surviving relatives would value the exclusive right of interment, because they then might plant the grave with their own hands, and from year to year renew the flowers. The Chief Justice thought that if the sorrowful widow could be prevented from planting her husband's grave she might equally be prevented from visiting it. (*Ashby v. Harris*, L. R., 3 C. P., 523.)

Let us conclude these aimless wanderings through widowhood by a quotation from a letter of the celebrated Erasmus: "Do not repent of having married a widow. If you buy a horse, you buy one already broken in. Sir Thomas More often said to me that if he was to marry a hundred wives he would never take a maid. He has an old one now who has lived a little too long." Sir Thomas More was erstwhile Lord High Chancellor of England.

R. VASHON ROGERS.

## HARNACK'S HISTORY OF DOGMA.

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*History of Dogma.* By DR. ADOLPH HARNACK, Ordinary Professor of Church History in the University and Fellow of the Royal Academy of Science, Berlin. Translated from the third German edition by Neil Buchanan. Vol. I. Williams & Norgate, London and Edinburgh, 1894.

THIS first volume of Harnack's History of Dogma is the second instalment of Messrs. Williams & Norgate's new venture in the translation of standard works of German theology. The names of the general editors, Revs. Professors Cheyne and Bruce, afford a sufficient guarantee that the works translated will advance the cause of scientific theology, and that they will be presented in the best possible shape.

It is no small task to attempt the review of a work of such stupendous learning, covering so wide a field as that of Christian Doctrine, and I may at once frankly admit that although by no means acquiescing in every view propounded by Harnack, it would be impertinent to attempt a critical essay. Fortunately, in the case of a work which not only presents the history of dogma in an original manner, but is representative of a school of thought, which deserves to be calmly studied before being hastily criticised, an expository review will prove more useful, even if less interesting.

The name of Harnack is well known to English readers, to many of whom this translation will be a great boon. At the same time it is probable that to many, at least amongst the younger students of modern theology, his theological position in general, and his attitude towards Christian Dogma in particular, is but imperfectly apprehended. It will be the object of this article not so much to review the whole volume as to select and comment upon such parts of its contents as will help to clear up these points.

The term Dogma is applied to those doctrines of Christian faith which the Church has authoritatively expressed and distinguished from the opinions of individual teachers.

articles of the Nicene Creed are dogmas; the doctrines of Conditional Immortality and of Verbal Inspiration are not.

Doctrines, in order to become dogmas, must further be logically formulated and expressed. Hence there are no dogmas in the New Testament, for although it presents us with the material for dogmas, it nowhere offers us such a complete and connected system of doctrines as even the brief Apostles' Creed.\* Dogma has therefore a history, and the object of its historian is to present us with the process by which dogma had its origin and development.

In the Roman Catholic Church, and in some sections of Protestantism, the dogmatic system of the Church has been regarded not merely as in accordance but even identical with the revealed faith. Thus dogma is held to be the basis of theology, that upon which theology works. In this view theology is but the expansion, or rational exposition, or defence of dogma. Harnack diametrically opposes this view. "Dogmas are the product of theology, not inversely, . . . first we have the Apologists and Origen, then the Councils of Nice and Chalcedon; first the scholastics, then the Council of Trent." An examination of the New Testament illustrates and confirms the accuracy of this view. Our Lord taught theology, but He never formulated a Creed. Dogmatists seek ever to express in concise statements the theology of the New Testament; yet it took three centuries to achieve the Nicene Creed. Harnack at this point aptly observes that the real fathers of dogma have seldom escaped being condemned by dogma, either because it went beyond or lagged behind their theology. "The Apologists, Origen and Augustine may be cited in support of this, and even in Protestantism, *mutatis mutandis*, the same thing has been repeated, as is proved by the fate of Melancthon and Schleiermacher."

Such, in part, is Harnack's conception of dogma. His object is to trace out its origin and development. Dogma is said to have originated "when an article of faith logically formulated and scientifically expressed was first raised to the position of the *articulus constitutivus ecclesiæ*," and this took place about the be-

\*"The Gospel did not enter into the world as a positive statutory religion, and cannot therefore have its classic manifestation in any form of its intellectual or social types, not even the first."  
"Primitive Christianity has perished in order that the Gospel might be preserved." Harnack, I, 75.

ginning of the fourth century, when the doctrine of Christ as the pre-existent and personal Logos of God had obtained acceptance everywhere as the revealed and fundamental doctrine of faith. The *development* of dogma closed in the Eastern Church with the seventh Œcumenical Council (787). But in the Western Church it has continued down to our own times, when the dogma of Papal Infallibility was formulated in 1870. There has also—although here the subject becomes exceedingly complicated—been a development of dogma in Protestantism; and hence Harnack offers the following divisions of the history of the development of dogma: (1) The Eastern development to 787; (2) the Mediæval-Western under the influence of the theology of Augustine; and (3) the development of dogma since the Reformation—(a) in the Reformed Churches, and (b) in the Roman Catholic Church.

We now approach Harnack's most characteristic position, and, we may add, of the school of Ritschl, of which he is the most distinguished representative, to which we invite the careful attention of the reader. How, the historian asks, has dogma arisen? On investigation it is shown that the theologians of the early Church were Greeks, many of whom had been and continued to be admirers and earnest students of Greek Philosophy.\* Amongst these the word "dogma" denoted a philosophical tenet of a master as Plato, or a school as the Stoics. What more natural than that the first theologians should deal with the material in hand (the New Testament Scriptures) in the old philosophical way. "*Dogma in its conception and development is a work of the Greek spirit on the soil of the Gospel.*" In the development of the doctrines of the Faith and of the Church, in the Christology and in the form of the expression of the Doctrine of the Trinity, the influence of Greek Philosophy is discerned. Hence "the claim of the Church that the dogmas are simply the exposition of the Christian Revelation, because deduced from the Holy Scriptures, is not confirmed by historical investigation. On the contrary, it becomes clear that dogmatic Christianity, in its conception and in its construction, was the work of the Hellenic

\* On this point reference may be made to one of the finest works of modern American scholarship, Allen's "Continuity of Christian Thought," 11th Ed., p. 2 and pp. 23-95. "The Greek theologians did not stand in an attitude of revolt or alienation from Hellenistic philosophy and culture. They knew its value in their own experience, and held it to be a Divine gift to the Greek people—a divinely-ordered course of preparation for the 'fulness of time.' From the alliance of Greek philosophy with Christian thought arose the Greek theology."

spirit upon the Gospel soil"; and yet more plainly, "the intellectual medium for dogma was inseparably blended with the content of the Gospel."

It will not be questioned by the candid reader that this is a somewhat startling result of the historical study of dogma. But before we can accurately estimate its consequences we must be careful to apprehend the historian's precise position. The undoubted antagonism of the Ritschlian school to dogma does not, so far as Harnack is concerned, indicate a desire for the total abolition of dogma, but is directed against the usurpation by a dogmatic system, which in its precise form was moulded by the circumstances and characteristics of but a section of Christendom—of the place that belongs to the teaching of Jesus alone. English readers who bow to the transcendent genius of Carlyle are sufficiently familiar with the distinction between the Form and the Spirit, which is perhaps the most characteristic lesson of "Sartor Resartus" to recognize the legitimacy—nay, the necessity—of the attempt to distinguish even in the sacred field of Christian Doctrine between the permanent and the transitory.

It ought not to be necessary, but it may be as well to obviate the hasty objection that Harnack identifies Dogma and Greek Philosophy. The definition above quoted makes it clear that he is guilty of no such folly. To say that "Dogma in its conception and development is a work of the Greek spirit on the soil of the Gospel" means that the minds which first sought to systematize the contents of the New Testament were the minds of Greeks, descended from the Greek philosophers and the inheritors of the Greek philosophy, who could no more avoid thinking as Greeks, and casting the results of their thought into Greek moulds, than the Latin could avoid that conception of the Church which made it a kind of regenerated Roman Empire. Harnack recognizes Divine Providence in both of these processes, and vigorously denies that he looks upon "the whole development of the history of dogma as a pathological process within the history of the Gospel." "I do not," he adds, "even look upon the history of the Papacy as such a process, not to speak of the history of dogma."

It would, however, be disingenuous not to freely admit that Harnack does not always move within the lines of orthodoxy.



It is not correct, however, to style him a Unitarian, although, to be sure, his doctrine of the Trinity is not that of the Nicene Creed, being ethical rather than metaphysical. But on the pre-existence of the Logos, the Virgin birth, and the bodily Resurrection of Christ, he is not "sound." In regard to miracles his language has a quite Gladstonian opacity. "The historian cannot regard a miracle as a sure-given historical event, for in doing so he destroys the mode of consideration on which all historical investigation rests. Every individual miracle remains historically quite doubtful, and a summation of things doubtful never leads to a certainty. But should the historian, notwithstanding, be convinced that Jesus Christ did extraordinary things—in the strict sense miraculous things—then, from the unique impression he has obtained of this person, he infers the possession by him of supernatural power. The healing miracles of Jesus are the only ones that come into consideration in a strict historical examination. These certainly cannot be eliminated from the historical accounts without utterly destroying them."

From this last sentence it is safe to infer that Harnack accepts the miracles of healing; but certainly the evidence for the feeding of the five thousand people with a few loaves, and other miracles, which belong to the common element of the Synoptic Gospels, is as conclusive as that for any of the healing miracles.

It has not fallen within the province of this article to refer to the philosophical substratum of the Ritschlian theology, but partly on account of it, and partly on account of its method so alien to the more practical method of British theology, it is pretty safe to conjecture that Ritschlianism will never, in its German dress at all events, become naturalized in English centres of theology.

Nevertheless, we have much to learn from it, and personally I believe that Harnack has justified his definition of dogma, and with it as a clue, an earnest, patient, truth-loving and sympathetic reconsideration of the history of dogma will shed a fuller light upon the Divine method, till we come to see that of all Christian doctrine it may be said that it is the work of the *human* spirit (not unenlightened by the Divine Spirit) upon the soil of the Gospel," and so with calm, unprejudiced minds may gird up our loins to the necessary

work of re-stating in terms of the twentieth century the unchangeable truths about God, Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit, Redemption, the Church. No one believes in continually tinkering at old confessions, or in composing new ones; yet there are successive stages in the mental and spiritual history of mankind, and it is clear to all thoughtful men that we are entering upon, or have already attained, a new era. There are some amongst us who believe that the only alternatives open to the spirit of man are those of Romanism or Agnosticism. I believe this to be a thoroughly shallow conclusion, easily confuted by the testimony of history, which teaches that scepticism is but a phase of transition periods, and, on the other hand, that the spirit of no race of men, when it has reached maturity, can be bound in its childhood's leading strings of Traditionalism.

It may be easy, but it is not brave, for the sake of individual peace of mind, to seek refuge either in the despair of Agnosticism or the retreat of Romanism. Not by any surrender did "the goodly company of the Prophets" or "the noble army of martyrs" serve their generations. There is a solution to all the problems of our human life, but it lies *before*, not *behind* us. Greek, Latin, Celtic and Teutonic theologies have provided provisional answers—answers that have been the stepping-stones to a more complete knowledge—but we are still bound to press on unto perfection. The apparent confusion of present-day Reformed Christendom, which is sometimes a source of despair to us and of hope to our enemies, is in reality the confusion of abundant but as yet unorganized life. Most heartily let us subscribe to the concluding words of perhaps the most suggestive work of an always suggestive writer: "The Church is now weak, and among the causes of her weakness are *doubt, division and dogmatism*. To renew her youth and make a fresh start in a career of victory she needs *certainty, concord* and a *simplified creed*."\*

HERBERT SYMONDS.

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\* Bruce, "The Chief End of Revelation."

## SCIENCE NOTES AND CRITICISM.

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### THE UNSEEN UNIVERSE.

IN *The Monist* for July, 1895, Sir Robert Ball, the astronomer, of Cambridge, Eng., has an article on what he calls the *unseen* or *invisible universe*. He says: "It is my object in this article to show that the present state of science forces us to believe that there is around us an invisible universe, which far more widely exceeds even that extended universe which we can see, than does our visible universe exceed that of a being whose celestial knowledge was limited to the recognition of the existence of a sun and a moon." And again: "A star is a mass of matter heated to such an extent that its effulgence is perceived far and wide. It must, however, be borne in mind that for a portion of matter to be heated so highly is always a more or less exceptional phenomenon. . . . The high temperature may last, no doubt, as that of the sun has lasted, for millions of years. It cannot, however, be perpetual, and when at last that portion of matter sinks again to the temperature of space, there it may remain to all eternity, unless in so far as by the chapter of accidents it may again be kindled into temporary luminosity. It thus appears that the normal and ordinary state of the matter in the universe is to be cold, non-luminous, and therefore utterly invisible to us. . . . Every line of reasoning demonstrates that the material universe, so far as it is visible, can only be an almost inconceivably small fragment of that unseen universe, which, from not possessing the necessary quality of luminosity, is effectually shrouded from our view. . . . We are to reflect that all objects which we can see constitute in all probability not one-thousandth, perhaps not one-millionth, part of the material heavens. We are to reflect that each one of these suns, which we find glowing in the depths of space, is only one out of an untold number of other bodies, many of which are quite as large, and many of which are very much larger."

Man's desire to know is always in advance of his knowledge, and when his knowledge fails he is given to supplying the defect by speculation. Now, scientific speculation should be founded upon well-established scientific facts; but even with this foundation, owing to insufficiency in the number of facts and the infinite possibilities of variation, it does not follow that the speculation must be true. For if we could have a certainty of its truth, or could show that the probability of its being true is very much greater than that of its being false, we would naturally place it in the position of established theory, for all theory in science rests upon strong probability rather than upon absolute certainty.

The foregoing statements, quoted from Sir Robert Ball's article, must be considered as a speculation forced upon us, as he says, by the present state of science; but the speculation is so far in advance of the known facts of science that it might be wholly true, or true to a very great extent, or true to only a very small extent; for it must certainly be admitted by all to contain some truth. To point out some of the difficulties in the way of accepting the speculation as wholly true is the purpose of the present article.

That there is a large amount of matter within the bounds of our solar system, which, on account of not being sufficiently heated to be luminous, is invisible to us, is well established. The earth in her annual orbit is continually running across such matter in the forms of shooting stars, aereolites, meteoric stones, etc., and many streams of cosmic matter allied to these are for good reasons believed to circulate about the sun. But that the total mass of such cosmic matter would be equal to that of Jupiter, or even the earth, is not, we think, generally held by any one. Certainly there are no large, dark, unknown bodies in the system, for asteroids not over thirty miles in diameter are distinctly visible in good telescopes, while the smaller satellite of Mars is believed to have a diameter of not more than eight or ten miles. So that bodies of eight hundred or a thousand miles in diameter would certainly be visible by reflected sunlight if situated anywhere within the limits of our system.

But the sun is more than a million times greater than the sum of all the planets and satellites, and hence is probably fully

a million times greater than all other matter constituting the solar system. So that as far as this system is concerned, at least, the statement "that for a portion of matter to be heated so highly as to become luminous is always a more or less exceptional phenomenon" cannot be said to apply, since a million parts are so heated for every one part that is so cool as to be non-luminous. For our system it would be more consistent with what we know, to say that for matter to be so cool as to be non-luminous is the exceptional case. And, as far as any knowledge derived from actual observation can inform us, there are no reasons for believing that, in any of the thirty or forty millions of systems whose suns are visible in the telescope, matters are very different in this respect from what they are in our own system.

But in saying that the invisible bodies are in many cases as large, or even larger, than the stars which glow in the heavens, Sir Robert Ball does not refer to meteorites, or any such small matters, but to extinguished suns with their retinues of attendant planets. How or why they should become extinguished will be an after consideration; we consider here merely their existence.

The result of astronomical observation has nothing to offer in favor of this speculation, and of course it has nothing to offer against it, for it is possible that a very great relative number of darkened suns might be moving through the immensities of space without their existence being revealed by observations extending over even a very long period of time. But if the proportion of extinguished suns to effulgent ones rises into the millions, it is hardly conceivable that, in many years of observations with the most efficient telescopes, some of these should not be discovered by coming into such positions as to become visible by means of reflected light.

By "the present state of science," which, according to the writer, "forces us to believe that there is around us an invisible universe, which far more widely exceeds even that extended universe which we can see than does our visible universe exceed that of a being whose celestial knowledge was limited to the recognition of the existence of a sun and a moon," the writer undoubtedly alludes to the modern doctrine of energy, and particularly to that part of it known as the hypothesis of the dissipation and degradation of energy.

Energy is the capability of doing work, *i.e.*, of acting against some resistance, and in this world it assumes various forms. To explain what is meant by the degradation and dissipation of energy, the following illustrations must suffice:—Imagine two inland lakes or ponds of water, of which one is at a higher level than the other, while both are above the level of the sea. By joining the lakes by a canal the upper body of water becomes a source of energy; for by placing a water-wheel in the course of the descending stream the wheel is turned and may be made to do work such as driving a mill, etc., and the amount of work which the falling water is capable of doing depends, among other things, upon the elevation of the higher lake above the lower, and is quite independent of the height of either lake above the ocean. If these lakes have no supply and no outlet, the water will, in time, come to the same level in each, and no work is then possible by means of water running from the one lake into the other. But both of the lakes still have energy with respect to the sea, and the mean height of their water surface is the same as before. But this energy is of that degraded kind which is no longer available between the lakes themselves. The energy of a body of water, then, is due to its elevation above some body of water into which the former may descend. And if the action of the sun's heat in raising water into the clouds were to cease, all the water upon the lands of the globe would, in time, find its way into the sea, and all its energy would be lost or degraded, since there is no lower body of water and no low valley into which the sea can pour itself.

Now, one of the general forms of energy, and the principal final form in which energy presents itself in this world, is that of heat. If two bodies are at different temperatures, work may be done by the passage of heat from the warmer to the cooler. But when sufficient heat has passed to bring them to the same temperature, no further work can be done between the two bodies, although they contain the same absolute amount of heat as before; and the energy which they now contain, in the form of heat, is in that degraded form which is not available for use between the two bodies, while if we compare these equally heated bodies with cooler bodies in the universe, we have again a source

of energy. It is very evident, then, that, as far as we can see, if everything in the universe ever comes to have the same temperature, all available energy forever ceases.

Again, the power applied to drive a boat, or a railway train, or any piece of machinery, and in fact all energy, is sooner or later transformed into heat, and this heat is radiated away into space and is apparently lost. Any heated body on this earth gradually gives off its heat and becomes reduced to the temperature of the surrounding atmosphere, and what becomes of this heat the physicist does not know, for, like water spilled upon the ground, it can never, by any means of ours, be gathered up again.

So, it is believed, the sun and every effulgent star dissipate their heat throughout the spaces of the astral universe, and never receive back an equivalent to what they give out. And thus, after a sufficient lapse of time, every hot, self-luminous body which shines in the midnight sky must be reduced to a cold and darkened sphere, to remain ever afterwards at that low temperature known as the temperature of space, and to be forever shut out from perception by such visual organs as those of man.

Such seem to be the conclusions to be drawn from the teachings of modern physical science. But it is quite legitimate to ask if these conclusions are certainly and necessarily correct; for however well established may be the principles and results of science in the regions of the known and the verifiable, it must be remembered that in the conclusions referred to we are to a great extent dealing with the unknown and the hypothetical.

Science has found it necessary to fill the interstellar spaces with a something known as the luminiferous ether. The proofs of the existence of the ether are nearly, if not quite, as satisfactory as those for the existence of the terrestrial atmosphere, but the properties of the ether are by no means so well known to man as are those of the atmosphere. That the ether is the medium of light and electricity, or, in general, of radiant energy, expresses about all that is really known concerning it. But to know merely that the atmosphere is the medium of sound is to be in ignorance of the majority of its physical properties, and of all of its chemical ones. It is probable, then, that the ether may possess many and unique properties of which the physicist knows as yet nothing. At least this is a legitimate speculation.

Is it, then, necessarily true that the sun, for example, is continually growing colder, and that, along with all other glowing stars, it must finally grow dark and frigid?

To the ancient barbarian, only superficially acquainted with the more obvious operations of nature, the river, which dashed down from the elevated heights of some unexplored mountain wild and flowed peacefully through the plain of his habitation, was an unexplainable phenomenon. He did not think that the water would ever become exhausted, because it had been a constant attendant upon all his traditional history; but he naturally, in ignorance of the source of supply, looked upon it as a direct gift of his gods. And we have Homer's authority for saying that the Egyptians believed that the Nile came directly from Jove.

To us who have a fuller insight into Nature's secret ways the source of the water supply of the Nile, as well as of all other rivers, has ceased to be a mystery. In like manner, heat and light have been streaming outwards from sun and stars for untold ages, and we conclude that if these bodies do not draw their energy from mysterious sources they must in time become exhausted and die. But it may be that, if we knew all the secrets of the universe, the supply for the radiant sun would be as naturally explainable as the supply for the flowing river.

The framing of a speculation, or rather a hypothesis, is not impossible, under which the whole phenomenon would become reasonably intelligible. If we assume that the ether is the great ocean of force, the storehouse of all energy, and that matter is so inter-related to the ether that a material body extracts energy of some form from the ether in proportion to the volume of the body, and gives out this energy, under the forms of heat and light, in proportion to its surface, we have a hypothesis under which the sun might never grow old or decay, and every large isolated body in space would have a temperature proportional to its size.

Owing to the limitations under which physicists have to work in being confined to this earth, it is probable that the assumption could never be experimentally proved or disproved; but certain



observed facts in Nature appear to lend some support to it. Thus the larger planets, Jupiter and Saturn, are certainly hotter than the smaller ones, Mars, Venus, and the Earth, and the Earth is hotter than the Moon; while the star Sirius, which is for good reasons believed to be much larger than the Sun, is shown by the spectroscope to be also much hotter.

Again, the savage, who makes a fire of wood to warm himself, and, barring the very small refuse of ash, sees nothing left but the smoke which curls upwards from the top of his wigwam and gradually vanishes into the azure sky, may argue that the whole material of the combustible has ceased to exist. But we know that every particle is still present in nature, and may possibly be gathered back again into the sturdy tree to form fuel for some distant age. So the apparent wasting and dissipation of energy, as it radiates into space in the form of heat, may be a mere illusion depending upon our ignorance of the wonderful adjusting operations of nature.

Clerk Maxwell has shown how, by means of his hypothetical demons, out of a degraded form of energy a higher may be extracted, and every growing tree illustrates in its life forces something of the same principle. For the tree in its growth absorbs heat of low temperature, while by its after forced combustion it may be made to give out heat of almost any required intensity. And may it not be that the ether, in some of its unknown properties, may act, in a still more efficient way, the parts of both the demon and the tree?

Of course these are hypotheses, or, if you please, speculations, which do not by any means exhaust the possibilities in the universe; but they serve to show that even the *known* facts of science do not necessarily compel us to adopt the conclusion arrived at by Sir Robert Ball.

But it is the teleological argument which puts the greatest obstacle in the way of accepting this conclusion.

If all the suns are on their way to extinction, the number of extinct ones now existing must depend upon the length of the past life of the universe, so that if there be any extinct suns the universe must have had a beginning. Also, in time, according to

the natural outcome of this speculation, the whole of the universe must be reduced to a final condition in which there is no light, no motion, no energy, and no change; and this state of things must continue forever.

But the universe is the embodiment and the outcome of the energies of motion and change, of life, and of thought, and to take these out of it is to destroy the universe itself. So that according to this hypothesis the universe must have an end.

But a universe with a beginning and an end is unthinkable; for the mind, in which the universe really exists, cannot think of an eternity of nothing preceding the beginning, nor of a similar eternity following the end. Hence we are constrained to believe that Sir Robert Ball's conclusion is not a necessity arising from the known facts of physical science, or if it is, that the physical science, which, in order to explain the universe, finds it necessary to do away with it, has not yet come to comprehend all the forms and transmutations of energy, and all the secret springs of action which lie at the base of those ceaseless changes which go on throughout this infinite cosmos.

N. F. D.

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#### THE NEW ELEMENTS.

The nebular hypothesis requires that the solar system shall be chemically the same. The spectroscope has shown that the sun contains many of the same elements as are found on the earth. But one element found in the atmosphere of the sun had until lately not been found in the earth. This gap has now been filled by the remarkable discovery of Professor Ramsay that *helium* is present in a number of very rare minerals, from which it can be extracted in the gaseous state. The history of this discovery is remarkable. When Cavendish made his classical researches upon the composition of the atmosphere, he found, after removing the whole of the oxygen, nitrogen, etc., from a small portion of air, that there remained a minute quantity of gas, which he could not fire by means of electrical discharges in the presence of oxygen and potash. He recorded this fact, but rested there. Now, a hundred years after, his legitimate descendant in the scientific line, Lord Rayleigh, has completed his work, and,

aided by Professor Ramsay, has shown that the atmosphere contains a hitherto unknown constituent, to which, on account of its apparent lack of chemical energy, the name of *argon* has been given by its discoverers. This new element is, like its more abundant companions in the atmosphere, an invisible gas. By the way, its elementary nature is still not free from suspicion, although the evidence goes to show that it is not a compound. So far no one has succeeded in obtaining a definite compound of it, although Berthelot has caused it to disappear by subjecting it to the influence of electrical discharges in the presence of benzine, etc. It has been tried in a great variety of ways, many chemists labouring patiently to get it combined, but it fully justifies the name given it by its discoverers. So far as entering into combination goes, it is the element *without energy*. After examining atmospheric argon carefully, Professor Ramsay turned his attention to the search for some mineral source of the new element. It had been noticed that the mineral *clèveite* gave off a gas when treated with sulphuric acid, and this gas had been pronounced nitrogen. Ramsay obtained some of the gas from *clèveite*, and had it examined spectroscopically by Dr. Crookes, who had previously determined the spectrum of argon. Dr. Crookes found that the gas was not nitrogen, but argon mixed with another gas, which he pronounced identical with the solar element *helium*. Later, these elements were found in other rare minerals; but doubt was cast upon the identity of solar and terrestrial *helium*, from the observation that a certain bright line in the spectrum of terrestrial *helium* is double (really *two* bright lines separated by a very narrow space), while the corresponding dark line in the spectrum of solar *helium* had so far been mapped as single. This doubt has been removed. More careful observation of the dark-line spectrum of solar *helium* has shown the line to be double. Thus has been added one more to the long list of elements common to the earth and the sun. W. G.

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#### THE BICYCLE.

The rise of the Bicycle and its influence in human affairs is quite phenomenal, and can be equalled only by that of the modern applications of electricity. The Bicycle had its origin in the old

velocipede of the French, in which the rider, sitting upon a seat fixed upon the longitudinal bar connecting two tandem wheels, propelled himself and his carriage by pushing on the ground with his toes. It is said that the speed obtained in this way was considerable, and it was some time before any important improvement was made in this crude invention.

Then some person added cranks to the front wheel and placed his feet upon the crank pins instead of upon the ground. After this the front wheel was gradually enlarged and the hind wheel correspondingly diminished until we got the uncouth looking but very effective large-wheeled Bicycle so much in vogue a few years ago.

This Bicycle was dangerous on account of the facility with which the rider could take a "header" when going down hill or when meeting some serious obstacle in the way, and many accidents were due to it. To obviate this inconvenience the small wheel was put in front. But this form, although safer than the other, was mechanically objectionable, since the effect of asperities in the road was to increase the pressure upon the small wheel, and thus to increase the resistance to progression; and these results are just the reverse of what took place with the small wheel behind.

If it were not for the increase in weight, or if the additional weight could be prevented by making all the parts lighter while still retaining sufficient strength, there would be a great advantage in making both wheels large, for a large wheel surmounts obstacles much more easily than a small one.

Principally owing to the difficulty in mounting the large-wheeled machine, and the liability to severe accidents in falling off or being thrown, the use of this Bicycle has gradually given way to that of the "safety" cycle, which is the ordinary standard moderate-sized machine which we commonly see going about our streets.

The safety cycles as now made and used differ only in minor details and not in general principles. The crank wheel is connected with the hind or driving wheel by means of a chain and sprockets, and the relative number of teeth in the sprockets de-

termine what is known as the "gear" of the wheel. In some cases the chain and sprockets have been replaced by a rod and bevelled gear, but this mode of connection does not seem to be in general favor.

The driving wheel is, in all normal wheels, 28 inches in diameter, and the gear is still measured in terms of the old high-wheeled machine. When thus measured the gear is denoted by the expression  $DS \div s$ , where  $D$  denotes the diameter of the driving wheel in inches, and  $S$  and  $s$  denote the numbers of teeth in the larger and smaller sprocket respectively.

What may be called the normal gear has a 28-inch driving wheel; the sprockets have 17 and 8 teeth respectively. This gives for the normal gear,  $28 \times 17 \div 8$ , or  $59\frac{1}{2}$  inches; that is, in one revolution of the crank the forward progress is equal to that of one revolution of a wheel  $56\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter. With the same 28-inch wheel 19 to 8 would be a high gear, and 16 or 15 to 8 would be a low one; 20 or 21 to 8, or 18 or 19 to 7 would be a racing gear. Owing, however, to the compression of the tire there are always small variations from these calculated gears.

The first Bicycles had iron or steel tires. These were followed by the cushioned tire, which is merely a thick-walled india-rubber tube, the walls being thick enough to carry the weight of the rider without a great amount of deformation. And finally we have come to the pneumatic tire, which is usually a thin-walled rubber tube inflated with air at a considerable pressure, and protected from undue expansion and injury by a strong protecting cover. The mode of fastening this cover on has been the subject of several patents, until about every practicable way has been tried. Thus we have the Dunlop tire, the Morgan and Wright tire, the J. & G. tire, etc. The first pneumatic tires consisted of a single tube, and there is a tendency at present to revert to this usage in wheels for racing purposes, or where special lightness is desired. Owing to the perfect elasticity of air, nothing can successfully supersede its use in the Bicycle tire, and the chief object of future invention must be directed toward the avoidance of punctures, or the quick and easy overcoming of their effects.

The original velocipede was invented for the purpose of ready passage from place to place for single individuals, to whom other modes of conveyance were not at the time available; and in its improved form as the modern Bicycle, it serves largely the same purpose, although, of course, it is also made a means of recreation and of sport. The use of the "wheel" for practical business purposes is, however, becoming daily of more importance. It has been shown by actual trial that the energy expended in riding a Bicycle over a comparatively good road is very much less than that expended in walking over the same distance, and the principal causes of fatigue are due to efforts to cover the distance in too short a time, climbing hills, and to overcoming the resistance of the wind, for the atmospheric resistance varies as the square of the speed.

The Bicycle has not only created a large industry, in order to supply the public demand for itself, but it has also affected very materially many of the leading industries. Thus it is computed that in Great Britain there are not less than 1,300,000 cyclists, and that the present manufacture of Bicycles involves plant to the value of £75,000,000, and gives work to about 50,000 men. In the United States it is believed that the number of cyclists is between three and four millions, and the factories of the Union are capable of turning out above 500,000 cycles annually.

In large cities, especially, the Bicycle has materially affected the earnings of the street railways; and in some Western cities the companies declare that even with an electric plant it is difficult to make the railway pay, owing to the decrease in receipts, due to the increasing number of cycles employed.

How the wheel affects the street railway is easily seen. In large cities, where high rents prevail in the central portions, the thousands of clerks employed have to live at some distance from their places of business. If the distance amounts to several miles, it is too far to walk, and before the introduction of the Bicycle the street car had to be patronized. This meant about \$30 per year for each clerk so situated. Now, however, owing to the facts that a cyclist on a good road can outstrip an ordinary street car with its many stoppages, and can ride three miles as

quickly and easily as he can walk one mile, the clerk finds it decidedly advantageous to patronize the wheel instead of the car. Counting the annual expense for wear and tear at ten dollars per year, which is a fair estimate for a careful rider, he not only saves \$20 a year in fares, but is enabled to live further out than before, and thus to save also in rent, besides having the convenience of a more airy situation, and frequently of a garden.

In a similar manner the cycle has affected the receipts for local tickets on the general railways of the country. To walk a distance of fifteen or twenty miles is quite an undertaking for a person not given to pedestrianism, while to ride this distance on a Bicycle is only a common matter of exercise, occupying from one to two hours, depending on circumstances.

As a matter of course the Bicycle has interfered seriously with the livery stables, for it is not an uncommon thing now-a-days to see man and wife, or brother and sister, or lover and loved, wheeling along side by side, who, were it not for the Bicycle, would patronize the livery. Besides these, hundreds of others prefer riding a medium distance on the wheel to driving the same distance in a carriage. Also, the "wheel," under the control of a good rider, is faster and cheaper than the best of horses in going long distances. One rider, Winder, who has ridden above 10,000 miles this summer, over all sorts of roads, averaged about seventy-eight miles per day, while Hurst, on July 7th, covered the remarkable distance of 515 miles in twenty-four hours.

The Bicycle has affected the business of the shoemaker and tailor, for the wear and tear upon shoes is almost nil, as compared to what it is in walking upon brick, or granolithic, or even wood pavements, and a shoe that would scarcely do to walk in does very well to ride in. Also, the cyclists incline to knickerbockers and sweaters, and in general to clothes made of coarse and loose material, for the sake of coolness and comfort in riding, and these are less costly than the clothes usually worn by the street pedestrian.

The Bicycle has affected the book-seller, for the light novel which is almost a constant attendant upon travellers on railways cannot be read or conveniently carried while spinning along on

the "wheel"; so that, to the great advantage of the community, the Bicycle tends, to some extent, to lessen the sale of cheap sensational literature.

The Bicycle has affected the innkeeper, in country places and in small villages. This is especially true in Great Britain, where, on account of the good roads, thousands of cyclists travel from place to place through the country. These must eat and sleep, and for this purpose they prefer good country inns to the more expensive city hotel. In most small English towns and villages one will find comfortable inns, to some extent set apart for the accommodation of cyclists; so that the Bicycle is bringing back some of the characteristics of the old coaching days of England.

In these and many other ways the Bicycle tends to modify, to some extent, not only commercial relations, but also social ones. The formation of clubs, and the pleasant runs which are joined in by the majority of members, tend in the highest degree to innocent and genial sociality. Also, like all other means which serve to practically shorten distances between towns, or between different parts of the same town, the Bicycle tends to continue social relations and friendships, which would more rapidly decay if dependent upon the much slower method of walking. Beside, unlike the listlessness with which many people ride in a carriage, the cyclist must keep at least an unconscious oversight on the motions of himself and his "wheel," and this in itself serves to keep the mind employed just to a sufficient extent to be interesting without becoming wearisome. Owing to this fact and to the wonderfully exhilarating effect of the motion, and to the sort of control which he feels he has over his "fiery steed," the enthusiastic cyclist—and what cyclist is not enthusiastic!—prefers his wheel to the best appointed carriage.

To the sportsman the Bicycle has introduced a new sport in the way of Bicycle races. Horse racing has been a favourite with the sporting man for a long time in the past, and it will doubtless continue to be so for a long time to come; but the Bicycle comes in as a good second to the horse, and between the two kinds of races there are differences which may in time bring the Bicycle race into greatest favour with those who prefer honest sport for sport's sake.



Horse racing is legitimate enough when it is employed honestly for the purpose of testing the relative speeds of horses and of improving their quality ; but, unfortunately, the horse race has degenerated into one of the most dishonest modes of gambling. In the horse race the instrument of the race is not under the control of its owner, but of a jockey, who is usually corruptible and often corrupted, while in the Bicycle race the owner rides his own wheel, or, rather, the race is not between wheels but between persons ; so that the probability of the race being prostituted to any unworthy purpose is no greater than it is in any other athletic contest. Of course, the betting man will bet upon a Bicycle race as readily as on a horse race, but the betting man is ready to bet upon anything, as is well illustrated on board of a ship, where it is a common thing to bet upon the day's run, upon the color of the pilot's eyes, upon which foot he will first place upon the deck when coming aboard, etc.

Finally, the Bicycle affects the human race physically, or it will do so in the future. What this effect will be is at the present time, and for want of a sufficiently long experience, largely a matter of conjecture. We naturally look to the physician to enlighten us upon the probabilities of the future in this relation, and to advise us as to the proper and healthful use of cycling. But, unfortunately, physicians, in their opinions upon this subject, are as wide asunder as the poles. Some, and fortunately the majority, speak of cycling in terms of praise, while a few denounce it in unsparing terms. In this dilemma the layman must trust to his common sense. Cycling is to a large extent an athletic exercise, and, like every other exercise of this kind, it must be beneficial if taken in moderation, and injurious if indulged in to that excess that the system is overstrained. But at the very worst it cannot be more harmful than foot-racing, or ball-playing, or any other game in which the participants call into requisition their whole physical power. It is said that the motion of the feet and legs in riding is not a natural one. But it is quite similar to that employed in ascending a stair or ladder, and the hodman and the mountain-climber perform work of this kind day after day and thrive under it. It is said that the nervous anxiety required in keeping one's balance may affect the nervous system ;

but this applies only to beginners, as the experienced rider is quite unconscious of making any effort with this end in view. We are properly cautioned against climbing hills which from their length put too great a strain upon the heart, and tend to produce palpitation and enlargement of that organ. But this effect is not peculiar to cycling, for any continued and excessive physical exercise may be productive of the same evils.

It is said that the exercise is calculated to make a class of stoop-shouldered men. Well, it must be confessed that, as indulged in by the average rider, the exercise of cycling is not as well adapted as militarism to produce a race of physically upright men; but this is the fault or folly of the rider, and not of the wheel or its legitimate use.

In short, as far as the writer can see, judging both from personal experience, and from the opinions given for and against by medical men, there is no better, no more alluring, and no more profitable exercise than cycling, provided the rider possesses common sense and uses it.

N. F. D.

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#### OUR SOURCES OF POWER.

What in the future is to be the source of our mechanical power or energy, is a question which may not be of prime importance to the present generation, but which must become more and more important as time goes on.

Some people are quite content with the statement that the future is able to take care of itself, but very many of these do not practise what they preach, as they strain every effort to create a specially easy and comfortable future for their children and their children's children, whilst all others must take what they can get. Again, others say that present arrangements will last our time, and that is all we are concerned with. The same argument might be applied to the worst government or the meanest city in the world. Then why should we give ourselves care of any kind? Simply because every right-minded man wishes to leave to his children a better inheritance, in the way of civil and political institutions, and in the way of progress and development, than he received from his father.

Some people have the idea that in some way electricity is to be the power of the future, and they talk of propelling vessels across the ocean by means of it. But electricity is only a secondary form of power, since the dynamo must be driven either by steam power, in which the heat furnished by the combustion of fuel is the primary source, or by water power, which in itself is a secondary form derived from the heat of the sun.

The independent and primary sources of power in this world are, first, the motion of the tides, which are due to the original rotation of the earth; second, the combustibles, such as sulphur and coal, to be found in the earth's crust; and, third, the heat of the sun, which may be used directly, or through its energy transformed into water-falls, and running streams, and winds or air currents.

The most common source of energy at present employed is the combustion of coal, for sulphur is not found in sufficient quantities to be of any practical utility. Many people have an exaggerated idea of the length of time that the coal supply of the world will last, placing it at 800 or 1,000 years. But careful men, who have made calculations upon all the known data, are doubtful if the coal supply of the world would, at the present increasing rate of consumption, last two hundred years, and it might be exhausted in even less time. However, if it should last 500 years, these years will pass away, and I think that most people have given up looking for any near end to the physical or the intellectual world. So that at some time in the future mankind must come to use the other primitive sources of power. And of course by husbanding the supply of coal and using it in the most effective manner, that time might be considerably postponed.

First, then, as regards the tides. These are capable of exerting enormous forces, but at irregular intervals and in an irregular manner; and the chief difficulty lies in so applying this power as to give fairly continuous and uniform action, and to so arrange the mechanism as to be safe against the destructive action of waves of such immense energy. The whole matter is a question of engineering, and there is no doubt that these and all other difficulties will in time be overcome.

The use of running streams and water-falls—that is, of the

passage of water from a higher to a lower level—has come to us from the remotest times. And the “harnessing” of Niagara to do a portion of the work of this continent is at present the most notable example in the world. The importance of this example is implied in the fact that the power of Niagara is about equal to that of the coal consumption of the whole world. Water-falls are to be found in every rough and mountainous country, and Canada has her full share of them. The difficulty in the way of their general use is that they are mostly situated in out-of-the-way places not easy of access.

Here the solution of the difficulty is evidently the dynamo and the motor, for these form the most feasible and applicable means of distribution. This process of employing a water-fall to drive a dynamo, and then carrying the transformed energy, as electricity, to distant points, and there re-transforming the electricity into mechanical motion by means of the electro-motor, can be seen not only at Niagara, but at dozens of other places in this and other countries. And there is no reason why, in future, every rapid stream and every natural fall of water may not be made to give up to the uses of humanity the energy which they are now wasting in warming the water particles and the underlying rocks.

At present very considerable attention is being turned to the application of wind. This source of power differs from that of water in being very much more irregular, and also in being the most widely distributed of all sources of power. We need not go into mountain fastnesses in search of it; we have it in plenty upon the tops of bare hills as well as in the open plain. And the wind-power of even a limited section of country would be as great as all the water-power of Niagara, and wind-wheels can be multiplied at pleasure. On account of the irregularity of the winds they cannot be applied directly in driving mills or dynamos, but require some intermediate and regulating machine. The most practical of these appears to be the pump and cistern. A great number of wind-wheels—hundreds, if need be—might be placed upon the ridge of a hill and be employed to pump water from the valley into a large cistern or pond on the top of the hill. This elevated body of water would then supply a constant source of energy, whose intensity would be the average of that of the wind-power of the year.

N. F. D.

## CURRENT EVENTS.

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“THE King is dead; long live the King.” As the Imperial Parliament is the real King, we take off our hats to the new Parliament, and wish it a longer life than its predecessor enjoyed. A great deal is expected from the new Cabinet, for it represents not a party but the nation, as no Government in Britain has done since Pitt's day. Lord Melbourne had a larger majority at his back, after the passing of the Reform Bill, than Lord Salisbury has, but it was a party majority. Lord Salisbury's Government, on the contrary, contains the cream of the two historical parties of Great Britain. The Duke of Devonshire was the actual and Mr. Chamberlain the prospective head of the Whigs and Liberals; while Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour led the last Conservative Government. Behind these four, who compose the inner Cabinet, stand statesmen scarcely inferior, like Lord Lansdowne, Mr. Goschen, Sir Henry James, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, with promising younger material like Sir Matthew White Ridley, Mr. Gerald Balfour, Mr. Curzon and others. They are sustained by the great cities--London, Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, Glasgow, Belfast; by the counties; by the most powerful centres of industry; by the entire University representation; and by an overwhelming proportion of the wealth, intelligence and culture of the nation. Of course, they may go to pieces, without accomplishing anything; but I do not think they will.

WHAT is the meaning of it all? First, that after thinking, for nine years, over the question, “Is *national* Home Rule for Ireland, with a separate Irish Parliament, consistent with the effective unity of the three kingdoms?” And after studying the two Bills on the subject submitted by Mr. Gladstone, England has answered the question with an emphatic “No,” while the answer of Scotland is almost as significant. Out of every 440 Scotchmen nearly 400 used to be Liberals. Now, they are divided in the proportion of 228 to 212, and it is safe to say that if the vote were taken on Home Rule alone the majority would be Unionist. At the same time, the present Government has no intention of meeting the demand of Celtic and

Roman Catholic Ireland with a simple "Non possumus" and suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act. Mr. Chamberlain has always been in favor of local Home Rule, and he is not the man to be deterred, by threatened dangers and real difficulties, from applying measures of Constructive Statesmanship, like County Councils, to Ireland, and even attempting something specially suited to the national yearnings and needs. As Colonial Minister his ambition is to draw closer the ties which bind the colonies—Canada to begin with—to the Mother Country, and he will do so if met half-way from our side. He can be depended on, therefore, not to put Ireland in the equivocal position in which Canada and Australia are, but neither will he deny her the fullest autonomy consistent with sharing in Imperial life and responsibility. Secondly, the National vote declares that Britain is, at any rate, not ready for Disestablishment. The heart of Scotland is not in favor of uprooting the tree which has sheltered the Reformed faith for centuries, and of seeing no national recognition of religion in the Empire save that which is Anglican. The strength of the Church in Wales consists in its being part of the Church of England, which will no more consent to disestablishment in the principality than in Cornwall. The national Churches have thus secured a respite. If they use it with consideration—that is, most of all, with generosity to their less favored sisters—further delay is probable and reconstruction possible. Judging by the past, however, they are not likely to do so. Ecclesiastical Assemblies are not favourable to the growth of statesmanship. They prefer appeals to sectarian fervour, and even to sectarian prejudice and pride. Thirdly, Britain is not ready to dispense with a second Chamber. It would not put up with one wielding the power of the United States Senate, no, not for a year, even though it had to be abolished by stopping the supplies, but it will keep the House of Lords until something better is devised to take its place. Lord Salisbury knows the danger of the present position. Nowhere else is the Constitution so completely outworn, and therefore nowhere else is reform or rejuvenescence more needed. He and the Duke of Devonshire should not shrink from the task now, for they must know that never are they likely to have a more favorable opportunity. Local Option, intemperate Radicalism, incipient Socialism, and farmers driven to desperation by bad harvests and steadily declining prices, all contributed their quota to the deluge which submerged Lord Rosebery's Government, while the indiscipline—merging on mutiny—of his chief officers was enough of itself to wreck the ship. There is talk in some quarters of deposing Lord Rosebery, and making Sir William Vernon Harcourt or Mr. Asquith leader. That would amount to rewarding mutiny, and the English people will not stand that. It would be enough to keep the Liberals out of office for twenty years, as almost any Canadian Liberal could sorrowfully testify to them, were opportunity given.

IN the United States, although the Democratic party is rallying somewhat, after the stunning defeat of 1894, there is nothing to give them promise of success at the next elections. They proved themselves untrue to their platform and incapable of following their

UNITED STATES  
AFFAIRS.

great leader, and they deserve to be sent into the wilderness for a season. They are still hopelessly divided on silver, and they have no leaders who can touch the heart or brain of the people but Cleveland; and even if the free silver advocates and the baser elements of the party could be induced to choose him again, and he could be induced to run, the superstition against a third term would be fatal to him. It has come to be accepted as "a principle" by myriads of Americans who consider themselves intelligent, that no man should be President for a longer period than eight years, no matter what his fitness or services. The Republicans, if returned, will not disturb the Wilson-Gorman tariff, to any great extent, except as regards Canada. McKinley's clauses will be re-enacted so far as to pinch us where the pinching will not react too seriously. Other hostile steps may be taken, and as both parties profess to believe that Canada deserves the rod, we need not look for sympathy from either. Our farmers must look to the British market, and they can capture it only with first-class products, honestly made up. They can leave to people of less intelligence the easy work of raising wheat, and of producing second and third rate articles. In other words they must be educated, and must study the conditions of the markets which are permanently open to them. Above all, they must be educated to the point of understanding that Protection cannot possibly benefit the Canadian farmer.

A SENSATION has been produced in New York by the new Commissioner of Police enforcing the law against selling intoxicating drinks on the Lord's day. He has been assailed as a social tyrant, a Sabbatarian, and, above all, an oppressor of the poor; but he simply points to the fact that it was Tammany and not he that put the Sunday law on the statute book, and that while it is there his duty is to enforce it, instead of using it as an instrument for extorting blackmail. The end will probably be a modification of the law along the line of London usage, which permits licensed houses to be open at specified hours; but any modification will be opposed by good people, who would like to make the law stricter and more sweeping than it is now. Prohibitionists will help them, on the ground that to license is to legalize, and that there can be no compromise with sin. They refuse to see that licensing really means restricting, and that the amount of restriction which it is wise to enact must vary according to the extent, density, views, habits, and other conditions and circumstances of the population affected. The use made by Tammany of the present Sunday law in New York ought to be an instructive object lesson; and Mr. Roosevelt deserves the thanks of all good citizens everywhere for

A STRONG Government is indispensable to effective Foreign policy; and Lord Salisbury's tone regarding Turkey and China shows that he feels himself in a position to talk plainly, and to act, too, if the talk should fail of the desired effect. There could be no finer example of the increasing might of moral forces than the union of England, Russia and France to compel Turkey to give self-government to Armenia. The co-operation of Britain and the United States in China is another example. The willingness of France to submit her territorial dispute with Brazil to arbitration is another, and as France has consented to this, out of politeness to the States, Britain might do the same as regards Venezuela, irritating though the attitude of the latter has been. A strong power can afford to be generous; and no action would be more likely to make the States ready to entertain the proposal to arbitrate all disputed matters—which was sent to the last Congress, signed by hundreds of members of the House of Commons. It is not wise, either, to have little quarrels on hand, when the whole of our strength may be needed for the settlement of the gravest difficulties. That may be the position of Britain any day, and at a moment's notice. She seems to know it by the way in which she is clearing the decks, as if for action. The navy is in fine shape. Lord Wolseley is Commander-in-Chief. Lord Robert's views about India are to be carried out. The Duke of Devonshire is the head of a Commission to organize a thorough scheme of National Defence. And the great Colonies are beginning to feel that they have responsibilities as well as privileges.

THE desperate condition of British farmers will make them press the Government to resort to Protection in some form. They might as well press for the moon. A slight tax on foreign produce would not benefit them. A heavy tax would ruin manufacturers and threaten civil war. Only in connection with a genuine Commercial and Imperial Union between England and her self-governing Colonies is there the slightest hope of anything being done along that line. British statesmen and the people generally would consent to sacrifices, in order to unite the Empire into an effective whole. But the manufacturers, who control Governments in Canada and the greater part of Australia, have no intention of sharing their home markets with their British competitors. They are delighted to have the open British market for their products, and they would be still more delighted to have a discrimination in their favor. They will take all and give nothing, or give only a nominal reduction of the tariff that would still keep it high enough to effect its purpose of excluding British manufactures. Mr. Goschen, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, contemptuously told us what he thought of such a proposal, and the present Chancellor of the Exchequer is stubbornly of the same mind, while Mr. Chamberlain, strong Imperialist as he may



be, is an excellent business man, not at all likely to throw away substance for shadow. Meanwhile, a few Canadians indulge the dream that the day will come when they can eat their cake and have it. If they would only "quit nonsense and get down to business," some thing might be done, for Canadian opinion is in favour of genuine union with the Mother Country. Canada must be either American or British, as Sir John A. Macdonald always said, and we would rather be British; unless we are forced to see that that only means to exclude Britain from our markets, yet call upon her to protect our interests all the world over and fight or threaten to fight our battles for us, whenever we get into difficulties with other powers. Canada took a long step politically, in the direction of Imperial unity, when Confederation was effected; and New South Wales has just taken a commercial step in the same direction, by abolishing all import duties, except on two or three articles; but a good many more steps must be taken before the goal is reached.

THE Salisbury-Devonshire Government will be tested by the British electorate, however, not so much by its Irish or House of Lords or Colonial or Foreign policy, as by the social measures which it has promised and outlined. Here, too, is where they are most likely to disappoint the masses of the people, who will find themselves as poor under a new as they were under the old Government. To house the working classes is a large proposal, and the wiser the measure the longer must be the time needed to give it effect. So with allotments, and old age pensions. Only the few can get them in the course of the next four or five years, and the many will be disappointed. The national revenue is limited, and if burdens are taken off the land, as the Conservatives insist, they must be put on elsewhere. Where, we may ask, for if the manufacturers, who are barely making ends meet, are taxed to insure their workmen against accidents, they may stand that additional load, but they will not stand more. Exclusion of pauper immigrants and of foreign prison-made goods sounds well from the platform to the British workman, but the two taken together do not amount to more than a drop in a bucket. It is well that a Government should come in, pledged to legislate for the social elevation of the people, rather than for mere constitutional experiments, but disappointment, because of the little which can be done, is inevitable. Then will come the hour for the Opposition to strike in and contrast promises with performance. Seeing that this must be, one cannot help hoping that advantage may be taken of the flood to make such constitutional changes as the reform of the House of Lords, the reduction of the Irish vote to its proper size, in connection with a just Redistribution Bill, and the giving to Ireland not only all the local Home Rule which Scotland has, but even a fuller measure.

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enabling them to read it "in such large letters." With the present trend of population to large cities, the questions connected with municipal government have risen into supreme importance; and the example of New York—as the greatest civic centre on this continent, and likely to continue so—tells for good or evil on every other city in North America.

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EVER since the Privy Council decided that the minority in Manitoba had the right to appeal to the Federal authority, the Prairie Province has been the storm-centre of the Dominion, and it is likely to remain so for some time to come. A question is up which excites racial and religious feelings to the uttermost, in a country where the population is almost equally divided between two great races and two historic religions, and which, therefore, demands, for its settlement, treatment that it is not likely to get from hand-to-mouth politicians. The name of the gentleman who applied the torch to the temple of Diana at Ephesus has come down to us, if that is any satisfaction to his ghost; and the ghost of the member for Winnipeg may, in the future, enjoy a like satisfaction, though it is to be hoped that we may be more successful than the guardians of the ancient temple were, in extinguishing the fire before the temple of Confederation is burnt to the ground. The fire has been burning in Manitoba since 1890, when Mr. Martin, without previous warning, and certainly without gloves of any kind, struck down the denominational system of education which had worked fairly well for nineteen years, and established on the ruins a "Public" School system. This year the fire has reached Ottawa, and already it has driven four Ministers out of the Cabinet; three of them returning with whiskers singed, as it was actually hotter outside than inside. What is the end likely to be? So far as a horoscope can be cast, I venture to say: A Canada stronger than before; Manitoba determining its own educational policy; and the lesson taught that no one Province can dictate to the whole Dominion. If these are the results, no thanks to Mr. Martin for them. He had an easy knot to untie, and he used an axe instead of fingers. His friends credit him with strength; but even if he had the strength of a bull, his place is not in a china shop.

THE question at present is a Damocles' sword, suspended over the head of the Federal Government. The Provincial Government has not sent its final answer, and when it does so it will probably point out that—having suggested a thorough investigation as necessary to a satisfactory settlement—it cannot go back upon that opinion. The Dominion Government should have accepted the suggestion, as a good way out of the difficulty in which the Remedial Order had

landed it, and as a proposal inherently reasonable. Instead of that, the forcible-feeble attitude was taken of asking for a lower bid, as if the two parties were at a Dutch auction, and of pledging itself to call a sixth session before a given date, declaring its own policy on the subject, then and submitting it to Parliament. Necessity is a hard master. The long alliance between Orange and Blue has been strained to the breaking point, and if it breaks the Government must fall. It therefore postponed the evil day as long as possible, in imitation of Sir John Macdonald's famous policy of delay. Imitators, however, usually imitate only the defects of those they admire. If they had simply resolved to delay, and appointed a Commission of inquiry, Manitoba would have felt itself free to co-operate and to enter upon negotiations. That would have been wisdom, for the Commission—once embarked on inquiry—could have prolonged its investigation, and the question would have been taken out of the political arena and kept out, till settled along lines that would have satisfied reasonable men. The extremists on both sides, that is, the secularists and the hierarchy, it is impossible to satisfy, for they are dominated by theories and are blind to facts. Mr. Martin is still sure that if what he calls "the farce of religious exercises" were abolished from the schools, there would be peace! The hierarchy demand their old control, and insist that the Privy Council's answer to a reference is "a mandate" to the Canadian Government!

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PROFESSOR JAMES WILLIAMSON, LL.D.

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IN the summer of the year 1842, the Reverend Dr. Liddell arrived in Scotland to search for a professor of mathematics for a lately born institution, honored by being called after the Queen of the Empire and dignified by the name of a university. A university it was with a principal and one professor; a university, whose halls and class-rooms were cabined and confined in a low wooden tenement on a back street of a small Canadian town; a university, whose undergraduates numbered not a dozen, whose endowment was as meagre as its professorial staff, and whose prospects were scarce brighter than the grave-yard view from its corridors. Not much had the first Principal of Queen's to offer to a man of learning and of culture, not many inducements to bring a scholar and a gentleman across the ocean.

In a quiet country parish of Drumelzier, however, Dr. Liddell found a man skilled in the wisdom of the schools, yet, "wearing all that weight of learning lightly like a flower"; a man strong in mind and body, as was to be expected from a son of Caledonia, stern and wild, yet gentle and lovable as a woman; a man as firm in purpose, as impossible to move from the path of duty as to shake the stubborn hills of his native land, yet most considerate of the opinions of others; a man who ever proved himself "an Israelite indeed in whom there was no guile"; a consistent, yet humble follower of the man of Nazareth; in the world, but not of it.

James Williamson was born in Edinburgh in 1806, on the nineteenth of October, at 25 York Place. He grew up surrounded by all the beauty, the romance, the inspiration of the old northern capital that sits so proudly upon her hills, adorned so wondrously by nature, chance and art. His father, William Williamson, was a practitioner in the highest courts of his country. The young James was early sent to the famous High School of the city, where he made such rapid progress that he was enabled to enter the university at an age even then very unusual. He left college when seventeen and began to make his own way in the world. He had already resolved to enter the sacred ministry of the Church of Scotland, and while waiting to reach the necessary age and prosecuting his theological studies, he acted as a private tutor and teacher. At one time in this capacity he resided near London, at another, he was "coach" to the young Sir William Molesworth, who had drifted from Cambridge northward to finish his university course at Edinburgh. About 1830 he was teacher of English to some of the family of the exiled Charles the Tenth of France. He was one of four literary young men who started the *Presbyterian Review*, a periodical soon merged in the *North British*.

Mr. Williamson was licensed as a probationer in 1831, and preached his first sermon in the Parish Church of Glencorse, a picturesque village some seven or eight miles from Edinburgh. We may be sure he was an acceptable preacher and a wise and careful shepherd of the flocks committed to his charge. Though earnest and faithful he was not one to be carried away by any wave of religious excitement. While assistant in 1839, in the parish of Kilsythe, a great revival took place which was fanned by the senior minister of the place; the people went wild with excitement, they seemed crazed by the passionate appeals made to them to repent and flee from the wrath to come, in many cases they committed suicide in their despair. Mr. Williamson greatly disapproved of all this, and as he was powerless to stop it, he resigned and left the parish—an early proof that he held honor before all things.

A weak and puny infant was Queen's College when first it received the care of James Williamson, who was for so long to be

to it the tenderest of nursing mothers. It was in its first year ; a short session had been held in the previous spring, opening on the seventh of March and closing in June. Ten students had passed the matriculation and entered the classes. Of these, George Bell, (the present Registrar of the university), stood first and was received as a divinity student of the second year ; Thomas Wardrope (now the Rev. Thomas Wardrope D.D.), entered the third year in arts ; and J. B. Mowat, (now the venerable and venerated father of the staff), was a freshman in arts. These and a few others were in attendance during the second session. The young Alma Mater was housed at first in a two storied frame dwelling on the North side of Colborne Street.

When the new professor arrived the university had flitted into a large and commodious stone house, (the adjectives are those of Domesday Book), still standing on Princess Street, opposite St. Andrew's Church. What would we give to-day to know the thoughts that filled the brain of the ardent young teacher on that October morn when first he walked up Store Street in our modern town towards the work which was to be his for half a century. Visions of the Princes Street of his far-away native city, adorned with tapered spire and dusky dome, and quick with life, must have been before him. Old St. Giles with its airy crown—the rock with its brown cliff, “where the huge castle holds its state,” with its gray and gloomy batteries—the ancient houses, crowding picturesque alleys and closes on every side—the villas, the woods, the gardens stretching away to the blue waters of the Forth—the Palace, the hills, the crags, and wooded crests to the South, had been wont to catch his eye and fill his mind with august traditions of an old and warlike kingdom. Now, all around was new and mean, was flat and uninteresting ; no stories of a hoary past gave interest to the dull stone dwellings on either hand, no thing of beauty met his quick bright eye, save the sparkling wavelets on Ontario's gently heaving breast. Now he was entering a plain stone house to teach the unknown sons of unknown men. What a contrast to one who had been wont to frequent Holyrood—that ancient and royal abode of a thousand stirring memories, where kings had lived, died and been buried, where queens had danced and sighed, had loved and wept,—to

teach the grandson of the sovereign of France who could trace his origin back and back and back to the days when the tenth century was young, and whose kindred reigned in Spain and Italy, in France and Sicily. But the brave young teacher having put his hand to the plough did not look back ; for half a decade of decades he stood to his post and did his duty, 'mid storm and sunshine, whether the rainbow of promise was in the sky or darkness was upon the face of the earth. Temptations to leave came more than once when all around was gloom, but he never wavered in his devotion and allegiance to the work that he began that autumnal day. *The Chronicle and Gazette* of the week said, that much benefit might be expected to Queen's College from his solid and extensive literary and scientific acquirements. And fully were those expectations realized.

The life of a teacher and a student must needs be unexciting and uneventful in the eyes of men of activities and affairs. To him a new book read, a new path of knowledge entered, are his excitements and his adventures. So there is little to tell of the deeds of Professor Williamson. It must not be supposed, however, that his life at Queen's began, continued and ended with Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, with the Binomial Theorem and Kepler's Laws, with Statics and Dynamics. Far was he from ever being a personification of algebra, a living trigonometrical canon, a walking table of logarithms (what Lord Macaulay feared lest he himself might become). The struggling institution with which he had identified himself quickly availed itself of his broad and general scholarship, and his varied acquirements ; within a week of his entering upon the duties of his chair, the public press announced that he was to assist in the preparatory school of the University, until the proper masters were obtained ; and well and faithfully he worked with the boys there.

In 1845, Professor Campbell having unexpectedly resigned his professorship, Mr. Williamson added Latin and Greek to the subjects he was already teaching, and for two sessions he shewed the undergraduates the beauties and the glories of the literatures of old Greece and Rome, for deep and accurate was his knowledge of these subjects,



Queen's grew more rapidly in men than in wealth, a way she has ever had, so when the Medical School was formed in 1854, and a teacher in Chemistry was needed, Professor Williamson had to supply the lack, and with acceptance he continued to teach this subject (in addition to his Mathematics and Natural Philosophy) for four years until the advent, in 1858, of Professor George Lawson, (whose recent death Dalhousie University still mourns.) For a time the Professor lectured on Logic and taught English Literature, exercising his class in versification and rhyme. He also for a season brightened the gloomy class-rooms of the Theological students by his kindly and genial manners when he addressed them on Church History. Astronomy was another of his subjects. Great was his pleasure in studying God's glory in the heavens; oftentimes he scanned the heavens till early morn, gazing at some distant planet or following the track of some gorgeous comet.

*On dit*, that soon after his arrival, while spending an evening with the Principal, he went out into the night to gaze into the clear bright sky. Standing on the lowest rung of a ladder, he looked upon the western heavens, and as the orbs of night went down he mounted higher and higher. His lengthened absence alarmed his host, the yard was searched in vain, even the dark opening of the well was examined with terror, messengers were sent to his lodgings without avail; at last a call louder than the others aroused the rapt astronomer, and he answered "Here I am"; and there he was on the house-top "watching stars fade out and galaxies; street lamps of the city of God."

Not even in the long list already given have we mentioned all the subjects with which Dr. Williamson was familiar. Like Solomon of old "he spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall; he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes"; greatly did he delight in exploring cave, or mine, or quarry, searching for remains of "dragons of the prime, that tore each other in their slime"; equally was he interested in "the poor beetle that we tread upon," in the gorgeous butterfly "ranging on yellow wings, a primrose gone alive with joy"; and in "all manner of precious stones which garnish the foundations of the City." His knowledge of English Literature was extensive, and his com-

mand of the language always made his public utterances pleasant and interesting. French, German and Italian he well understood. These tastes and studies he kept and cultivated to the end. Notwithstanding all this the Professor was certainly no mere book-worm, no mere dry-as-dust scholar shut up in a library. He touched life at many points. Perhaps the depths of his knowledge on any one subject was not profound, yet the range was very wide, and a wonderful memory enabled him readily to draw out what he needed from the storehouse of his well-stocked mind.

In 1845 Mr. Williamson returned to Scotland to claim as his bride a lady, neither pretty nor handsome, but agreeable and vivacious, intelligent and good,—Margaret Gilchrist, the daughter of John Gilchrist, local editor of the Edinburgh *Evening Courant*. This union, which had been waited for as long as the anticipated union of Jacob and Rachel, was not destined to endure. Mrs. Williamson passed away in 1847, leaving one son who still survives. Time, the universal healer, assuaged the grief of the husband, and in 1852 he married Margaret Macdonald, a sister of the then rapidly rising statesman John A. Macdonald. Another sister, Miss Louisa Macdonald, and her mother, for many years formed with the Williamsons a happy family. Death has claimed them all; first the mother, then the wife, next the kind and genial sister-in-law, and now the dear old Professor is with them once again. Many pleasant memories of the group linger fresh and green in the minds of a host of friends. Most interesting it was to visit them in Fortsmouth or at Heathfield when Mrs. Williamson and her sister dispensed hospitality, charmingly and ungrudgingly, seasoning the viands with attic salt and spicy anecdote, rich, racy story or pungent wit, and

He spoke of the grass and flowers and trees,  
Of the singing birds and the humming bees;  
Then talked of the haying and wondered whether  
The cloud in the west would bring foul weather.

The Professor prided himself upon his farming, and indeed his crops brought better prices in the market than did those of other farmers, for almost every stalk and root were specially tended by the enthusiast's hand.

Greatly did the undergraduates of Queen's esteem the privilege of an invitation to dinner or "high tea" at the Professor's, and many are the stories told anent these festive occasions, of invitations given and afterwards forgotten by the Doctor, of hungry students arriving and going empty away, the reason why of their presence not being remembered. During the writer's undergraduate days these entertainments were suspended owing to the serious illness of one of the family, and more than once were the students of those days told by the good Professor, "—— is ill now; when—— dies we will have a party."

Queen's did not long continue content with the stone house on Store Street. In 1854 the authorities resolved to buy the residence of the Venerable Archdeacon Stuart known as Summerhill (now the homes of Principal Grant, Dr. Watson and Dr. Dyde.) And Mr. Williamson was employed to canvass for subscriptions; what success attended him we know not, but who could refuse such a gentle and smiling pleader? About this time, largely owing to his exertions, a medical school was established. The University of Glasgow in 1855 honored him with the degree of LL.D. He was instrumental in getting an astronomical observatory established in the City Park, which in 1882 was removed to the College grounds, and proved a source of pride and pleasure to him; in it he spent long days and nights perfecting and utilising its apparatus.

In 1876 the Doctor was appointed Vice-Principal of the University, and from that day on to May of this year, the pleasure of every successful candidate in Arts, on receiving his degree, was increased by the kindly way in which the Vice-Principal presented him for the honor. In 1882 he resigned the chair of Mathematics, and accepted the honorary position of Professor of Astronomy and Director of the Observatory. At the close of the session of 1892 the University Council, to mark the completion of his fiftieth year of connection with Queen's, presenting the venerable Professor with a bust of himself, sculptured by Mr. Hamilton McCarthy. The Hon. Justice Maclellan, in making the presentation, referred in glowing terms to the unabated energy, the loyal devotion and the solicitous care which the Professor had ever shewn towards the University, and said that the loving enthus-

iasm of his students, past and present, manifested itself in a way which would hand down to future generations, the features whose genial light had shone with healthful and inspiring influence upon hundreds of young spirits, awakening and developing attachments more precious than rubies and more enduring than bronze.

Even yet the grand old man did not think the time for rest had come ; still he plodded on, the delight of the students, the trusted adviser and counsellor of the professors, the friend of the friends of Queen's. Thrice after this were closing convocations graced by his presence, and the graduating class in Arts smiled upon by him.

He was ever and above all things the students' friend, and their love and regard for him in return were shewn by the pet names they applied to him ; for forty years and more he has been to the undergraduates and graduates "Billy", or "Old Billy". As his old pupil, Judge MacLennan said, not the smallest part of his usefulness to the University lay in the unconscious influence exerted by his personality upon the students. His kindness of heart and the urbanity of his manner, his genial spirit and unselfish regard for their welfare, endeared him to his students beyond forgetfulness, and exerted a salutary and enduring influence upon their lives such as even his great learning and refined culture could not by themselves have effected.

But the Doctor could be severe when severity appeared necessary, as when he said to a gushing freshie anxious to show a knowledge that he did not possess, "Peter, sit down, and think you know nothing."

There is little doubt that from a very early period, Dr. Williamson was the victim of absent-mindedness. One wintry Sunday, a few years after his arrival in Canada, he complained to a student, with whom he was walking to church, that his new overcoat did not fit him comfortably. At a glance the student saw that the Professor had buttoned the heavy top-coat on to the buttons of the light undercoat ; he mentioned the fact, and with evident pleasure came the reply : "Well, I suppose it will fit after all." Many are the stories of his driving in to his classes from his country home, putting up his horse in the college stable, and then when his work was done, trudging wearily homeward, for-

getful of his horse; of how he at times was seen in the heavy rain with his walking stick held upwards towards the sky, and his closed umbrella under his arm; of how in the coldest weather he would appear without overcoat or gloves, and when spring was coming he would be clad in heavy clothes, with muffler and gauntlets and fur cap.

Not very long ago he had promised to preach in Cooke's Church on a certain Sabbath evening; the minister being absent. Knowing somewhat of the lapses of his memory, the minister's wife sent a boy to escort the good Doctor safely to the Church as the hour for service drew nigh. The divine and his guide walked pleasantly along together till they reached the point where the ways to Cooke's Church and St. Andrew's Church diverge. The Doctor made as though he would go on to the latter; the boy expostulated, reminding him of his engagement, but in vain; the final reply being, "Some other time, my lad; some other time I will preach in Cooke's Church, but to-night I am going to preach in St. Andrew's." The boy ran home to tell the news, and hurry and skurry there was to find a minister to take charge of the deserted congregation. Meanwhile, Dr. Williamson arrived at St. Andrew's, donned the gown, and preceded by the sexton bearing the Book, entered the pulpit. Scarcely had he left the robing-room when the popular minister of the church entered prepared for duty. Finding gown and Bible gone, great was his surprise; the Doctor's voice floating in through the half-open door told the tale, and with his usual courteousness Mr. Mackie accepted the situation and took his seat among the worshippers. Amid all his professional duties, his scientific studies and his worldly occupations, Dr. Williamson never forgot, that in early life he had been specially set apart to serve in the sacred ministry of his Church. Frequently all through his career did he occupy the pulpit, and his sermons were ever listened to with pleasure and with profit; the language was ever choice and pure, the thought elevating and inspiring, the doctrine that of the fathers of the Church of Scotland; and with earnestness and love he pointed his listeners to the Way, the Truth and the Life. He knew in whom he believed. As the very Reverend the Principal says, "His faith had never been subjected to the foundation-shaking assaults that try the men of our day. He belonged to the

previous rather than to the present century, though all that was acrid, hard or narrow in connection with its dogmatism seemed never to have touched him, and his piety became more mellow day by day. To him, religion was summed up in love to God—a love which cast out fear and overflowed his whole life,—and love to man.”

Irreverence he could not tolerate. Once when he was lecturing on Geology, a would-be wit asked him the difference between the rock exhibited and the Rock of Ages. A silence ensued, the kindly face grew serious and reproachful, and more in sorrow than in anger came the crushing words, “S—, you will never be a gentleman.”

The good Professor's manner of conducting morning prayers at college was peculiar to himself. His eyes would open and shut in a mechanical sort of a way; tradition said that he was quite unconscious of the movement and saw nothing, although to the untutored mind of the freshman it might seem that he was trying to watch the behavior of the students. On one occasion however, the traditional faith was badly shaken. The Professor was in the middle of the Lord's Prayer, two of the students in the back benches were in attitudes not devotional, but suggestive of a foot-ball scrimmage; the innocent eyes were disturbed by this phenomenon, by reason whereof a curious thing happened; the names of the students got interpolated in the commonly accepted version of the prayer, and the words which fell upon the startled ears of the devout listeners were, “Lead us not into — Dingwell; but deliver us from — Goodwill.”

The Doctor took a keen interest in politics; as was to be expected from his nature, his studies and his connections he was a thorough Conservative; his attachment to the late great leader of the party in Canada was constant and firm, through good report and evil report, and frequently was Sir John Macdonald an honored guest at the Professor's hospitable home. How rich must have been the converse of these friends as together they

glanced from theme to theme,  
Discuss'd the books to love or hate,  
Or touch'd the changes of the state,  
Or threaded some Socratic dream.

On the eve of a contested election no man was more keen than Dr. Williamson, no man more eager to roll up the majority. His last public utterance was when standing in Cataraqui Cemetery by the resting place of his relative and friend, he addressed to the Macdonald Club of Kingston a glowing eulogy on the dead Chief-tain, reviewing his character and principal achievements. After his speech was over he turned to a gentleman about to address the gathering, and said *sotto voce*, " Pump it into the boys to grow up good Conservatives."

He was endowed with a splendid constitution ; he enjoyed at all times a country ramble in search of scientific objects, or a drive across country for the sake of the picturesque. He was an eager follower of Izaak Walton, and oftentimes did he practise the gentle art amid the beauties of the Rideau Lakes.

Almost to the very last his walks about the city were well nigh daily, and his bent form, swinging arm and sunny face were known to every one. Even at the beginning of this year he was strong and vigorous—a serious fall, a broken rib, seemed but as naught to him ; mind and body outlasted the allotted term ; his eye-sight was excellent and he never needed the aid of glasses ; to the end his head was full of knowledge and his heart of love ; his hair was scarcely tinged with gray, his hand was steady and his step elastic. In March, 1895, he was attacked by the illness which eventually carried him off ; for a time he was very low, but to the surprise of all he rallied and was in the usual place at the closing convocation at Queen's ; he greatly regretted that his health did not permit of his presence at the unveiling of the Macdonald monument in Montreal ; but, as we have said, he was at the memorial ceremonies at the grave in June. In August he began rapidly to fail, evidently the frame which held his indomitable spirit was wearing out ; he suffered much but did not murmur, nor did he give way ; within a week of his death he was out driving. As September wore away his weakness and suffering increased ; though he had neither kith nor kin to tend him he was not left to meet the great change alone ; a faithful servant and loving friends were ever nigh to soothe and comfort. The twenty-sixth of September was his last day on earth ; that night while ministered to by two friends, tried and sure, "God's finger touched

him and he slept." The silver cord was loosed ; the golden bowl broken.

\* \* \* \* \*

" Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his."

\* \* \* \* \*

Town and Gown alike strove to honor his memory. His body was removed to Convocation Hall, and lay there, watched by the students that loved him ; many came to gaze upon the face so beautiful in its calm repose which proclaimed so plainly than death was swallowed up in victory.

Say not it dies, that glory,  
'Tis caught unquench'd on high,  
Those saint-like brows so hoary  
Shall wear it in the sky.  
No smile is like the smile of death,  
When all good musings past  
Rise wafted with the parting breath,  
The sweetest thought the last.

Professors, trustees, students, in long array followed the body through the streets, crowded with citizens with heads bowed, to St. Andrew's Church where for years he who now slept had worshipped. The solemn anthem expressed the feelings of the vast congregation : " Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, for they rest from their labors." \*

R. V. R.

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\*NOTE.—I have but sought to weave into a chaplet the flowers brought by other loving hands to deck the grave.—R. V. R.



## THE INFLUENCE OF GREECE UPON THE THOUGHT, FORM AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE JEWISH RELIGION.

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**W**HAT is the meaning of the term Jewish Religion? I take it to mean the religion of Israel as contained in the Canonical books of the Old Testament. From the date of the latest of the Old Testament writings down to the Christian era, the history of the Jewish Religion and of the external and internal influences affecting it, presents quite an interesting study, and has an important bearing on the doctrine of Jesus, and the beginnings of the Christian Church. But all that lies outside the subject of this paper as I understand it. The religion of that period is commonly called Judaism, and is not to be confounded with the religion of Israel as contained in the Old Testament Scriptures. The subject before us is therefore confined within quite narrow bounds; and one's first impression certainly is that Greek influence could scarcely have touched even the fringe of Old Testament religion. It is possible, however, that an examination may yield another conclusion.

Jewish religious thinkers were not, so far as is known, in the habit of travelling extensively, or pursuing their studies abroad, and so imbibing foreign ideas. They were like the rest of their countrymen, intensely national, and sectarian, and home-loving, and any foreign influence that may have spread among them was forced upon them. It was part of the religious and race creed of Israel to antagonize foreign surroundings, and become in their unwelcome presence only the more strongly wedded to their own distinctly national and religious ideas. It was so in Canaan in the patriarchal period. They kept aloof from the Canaanite, and for a time intermarried only with their own kindred in the fatherland. It was so most noticeably during their long Egyptian sojourn; for how otherwise could a man have arisen so intensely Jewish as Moses. It was so in Babylon, as history and prophecy and psalm and ritual plainly show. It was so under the Persian rule as there is good reason to believe. And, as we shall see by and by, it may not have been substantially different under Alexander of Macedon and his successors.

But, notwithstanding these marked traits of Jewish character, and marked from the dawn of their history to this day, they could not wholly escape the leaven of outside ideas and practices, and as a matter of fact, they did not, but often came strongly under it, and to their great humiliation and sorrow. But the degree of influence, particularly of the better kind, it is not always easy to determine, because of the remarkable assimilating power of the Jewish people. What they absorbed, they made so thoroughly subservient to their own genius and spirit, that it is hazardous to speak positively of the extent to which their religious ideas may have been modified at any time by external philosophical, or literary, or religious forces. And it is not safe to assume, without clear proof, that Jewish religious ideas bearing some resemblance to foreign ideas, were borrowed from the latter. They may as likely have sprung from the Jewish heart itself; for no people in history have been richer in noble and striking religious thought than the Jewish people. For these reasons it is well to observe caution in speaking of the contributions that may have been made from without to the stock of their religious ideas.

The Greek influence could not possibly have been felt prior to the Alexandrian conquest of the East, and the fall of Persia, 333 B.C.—say the date of the battle of Issus. Between that date and the close of the Septuagint translation 150 B.C., is a period of 183 years, and that period comprehends the whole time in which the Greek influence must have done its work. The date 333 B.C. is later by a century or more than the latest of the Old Testament books according to the traditional opinion; and if that opinion be correct, the question of Greek influence is settled; there never was any. But recent historical criticism assigns a much later date than the time of Ezra to some of the books of the Bible, and to portions of others; and if this conclusion be well-founded several books and portions of books, fall entirely within the Greek period, *i.e.* from 333 B.C., to 150 B.C. And they are Job, Ecclesiastes, portions of Proverbs and the Psalms, Daniel and Esther. Recent liberal criticism at the hands of some of the ablest scholars of our time, English and Continental and American, greatly preponderates in favor of a late date, but the question is still in the field of discussion and therefore un-

settled. And if it were settled, and wholly in favor of the extreme liberal view, would it necessarily follow, that Greek influence was an appreciable factor in the "Thought, Form and Development of the Jewish Religion"? How far it was that, if that at all, it is the object of this paper to discuss.

Greece may have influenced the Jewish Religion in two ways; first, as to the production, collection, extension, and arrangement of certain of the Biblical writings; and secondly, as to the religious thought contained in these writings. When the thunder-cloud of Chaldean invasion was seen darkly approaching the land in the time of Jeremiah, about 620 B.C., and the fear of the impending calamity and the need of some consolidating and purifying principle were felt, the leaders of the nation thought of the history and traditions of their splendid past, and imagined that an appeal to them would awaken their countrymen to a sense of their obstinate follies, and their danger, and persuade them to adopt measures of national and religious reform and self-defence. "Men like Jeremiah and Josiah, realizing the gravity of the crisis, would gather all existing laws and traditions together into one code, and make Moses, as it were, speak audibly again, and so provide a fulcrum for moral and religious reformation, such as one day might be used with telling effect. For, there comes a time in the history of every nation, when the pressure of calamity acting upon the growing habit of appealing to written documents, a secret craving, perhaps even a loud cry, makes itself heard for some definite and written code." Accordingly what fragments of oral and written history and ritual they possessed, they collected, and published as a manual of ancient Mosaic laws for the guidance of the people. And the manual is wholly worthy of the grave occasion which called it forth, and the noble end its compilers had in view. "It breathes an atmosphere of generous devotion to God, and of large-hearted benevolence to man; and a profound ethical and religious spirit determines its character in every part." It was the Magna Charta of the Jewish people, and its influence upon subsequent books of the Old Testament was very great. It is the book of Deuteronomy (621 B.C.) according to the critics.

After the dreaded blow had fallen, and the flower of the na-

tion had been carried into exile, this work of gathering and compiling and preserving their laws and history became more important than ever. In exile and misfortune, they were in imminent danger of losing their racial identity and their religion. Who but an exile could have felt and written as in this Psalm (56)?

"Be merciful to me Oh God ; for man would  
swallow me up ;  
All the day long, he fighting, oppresseth me.  
Mine enemies would swallow me up all the  
day long."

But they took strenuous measures to prevent any such absorption ; and as before they turned to their own records and literature, and under Ezekiel the prophet-priest and others of like spirit, they continued the collection of their oral and written fragments of law and prophecy and history. Even in bondage, they could snatch an occasional hour to listen to portions of their venerated law. But they may have had another, if less praise-worthy reason for their industry in collecting and extending and editing their literature. They must have soon learned how painstaking their Babylonian masters had been in writing out in their own peculiar way extended records of the nation's life and religion and greatness. Wherever they looked, their eyes rested on tablets and inscriptions, each with its own story to be handed down through the generations, to inspire them with pride in the achievements of their fathers. And had not Israel also a glorious history, the exiles asked themselves? And ought it not to be preserved in some permanent form? Can we doubt that the more patriotic and far-seeing among them thought so, and put their thought in practice as they had opportunity? And some Babylonian ideas may have been consciously or otherwise incorporated in the records. Both peoples had sprung from the same Semitic stock.

When deliverance drew near, and in the clemency of Cyrus the Jews were preparing to return to their old home, and re-establish the nation and the temple, what more natural than that a suitable code of social and religious legislation should be carefully prepared for the instruction of the people? As a matter of fact we know that after the return, portions of this very code were read publicly under circumstances of great national and religious en-

thusiasm. "Ezra the priest, brought the law before the congregation, both of men and women, and all that could hear with understanding, upon the first day of the seventh month. And he read . . . . and the ears of the people were attentive unto the book of the law ; and they bowed their heads and worshipped the Lord, with their faces to the ground. And all the people wept when they heard the words of the law. And the Levites stilled the people, saying, hold your peace, for the day is holy." (Neh. viii, 1—). And thus the first volume of the Old Testament, the Law, was given practically the final revision, and proclaimed publicly before the people. And such was the effect of the Babylonian experience, and the law which in its completed form it called into existence, that the Jews never again fell into the idolatries and apostasies of the past.

The Persian rule, from the fall of Babylon, 538 B.C., to 333 B.C., when the Persian empire in its turn fell before the Greeks, was on the whole good-natured and kindly towards the Jews. And while there may have been some infiltration of Zoroastrian ideas, and while the scribes probably continued in a leisurely way to collect and edit historical records and prophetic orations, no great occasion arose like the Babylonian oppression, or the subsequent restoration, to call forth a new manifesto of the national and religious faith of Israel.

During the earlier years of Greek rule, the condition of the Jews was not materially changed, and if changed at all, it was for the better ; but when the empire became divided, and fierce and protracted wars were waged against one another by the successors of Alexander, and the Jews became the spoil now of one conqueror and now of another, and received brutal and contemptuous treatment at their hands, the occasion had come for a revival and re-assertion of the national and religious spirit, and for another and larger publication of the writings of their great law-givers and annalists and prophets.

"Their persecution by the Greek monarchy at Antioch, 170 B.C., and the penetration of Greek thought into the very heart of their proud exclusive Semitism, had but little, if indeed any effect, upon the already consecrated portion of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Law." But like previous calamities it was the means

of bringing fresh Scriptures to the front for canonisation. What else could sustain the hopes of the persecuted and discouraged people? In these writings they would learn how God had specially chosen them for His own people, what "wonders" He had done for their fathers, and how graciously He had spoken to them through their prophets and wise men. Let the people only know what He had done for them before, and they would maintain their hope, dark and gloomy as was the time. The priests and scribes, therefore, diligently collected and compiled the hitherto unpublished Prophetic Writings, and at a later stage the Sacred Writings and the Chronicles. But doubtless they had another stimulus in their work. In contact with their proud and cultured Greek rulers they must very soon have learned much about their rich and varied literature, and the sense of unity and strength and superiority it gave them. Some of the more open-minded Jews, without becoming any the less Jews, may have been Hellenised enough to appreciate their splendid culture, and eminence in philosophy and poetry and art as well as in arms. And what could be more natural than to imagine, as devout, patriotic Jews would, that they also had a literature worthy of the religion and the history of a great and ancient people? Then why not collect it, and edit it carefully, and make it accessible to the whole nation? It was exceedingly rich in many things, in history, in prophetic oratory, in wisdom, in song, in religious feeling, and portions of it claimed a more venerable antiquity than the father of history himself. The story of Abraham, the father of the nation, was old when the reckoning by Olympiads began, and Rome was founded. Therefore, ought not such a body of valuable literature, and enshrining so great a religion, to be put in a permanent and accessible form? Was there anything in Greek oratory of sublimer quality than the Babylonian Isaiah? Anything in Æschylus superior to Job? Anything in Greek wisdom equal to the ethical purity of the Hebrew Proverbs? Anything in their lighter verse to excel the lyrical sweetness and devout spirit of the Psalms? And for idyllic, picturesque, moral beauty, was there anything in all Greek literature to be ranked in the same class with Canticles, called by the Jews themselves, and with a pardonable pride "the choicest of songs"? To a cultured discerning Jew, some knowledge of the well-stored mind of Greece would only serve to show all the

more convincingly how incomparable was the historical and literary and ethical and religious wealth of his own people. And now there was need that they should know how rich they were, and how in those respects at least, they could stand on equal terms with the masters of the world. And never was there a time in Israel's history when a great need could be so well met. The synagogue had practically superseded the temple, and instead of the old one central place of worship, there was now a local temple, the synagogue, in the midst of every Jewish village community, and there not only the Ancient Law, but also the Prophets and many of the Annals and Sacred Writings could be read to the people on sabbaths and festivals, and other days. Later, but not later in any event than 150 B.C., the Law, the Prophets and the Sacred Writings, as we now have them, were brought together; and as before, external as well as internal influences affected the result, and possibly not the least potent of the external influences was the Greek.

Coming now to the second point, the development of the Jewish Religion; how far was it affected by Greek thought and civilization? Was it affected at all? It was one thing to affect the collection and publication of Jewish writings, it was quite another to affect the Jewish Religion.

I am confining the enquiry to the Jewish Religion as we find it in the canonical Old Testament Scriptures. As we have seen, Greek influence could not have begun before 333 B.C., when the Greek monarchy absorbed the Persian, nor continued later than 150 B.C., when the Septuagint, the Greek version of the Old Testament Scriptures was completed. Now, the extent to which Greek thought influenced, if at all, the Jewish Religion, can be determined only by a careful inspection of the canonical writings belonging, if any do, to the period of Greek supremacy, down to 150 B.C. The books alleged to have been written at that time, have been subjected to the most searching critical examination by scholars of the highest eminence and candor, but so far as I know, not to ascertain what Greek thought there might be in them, but rather their origin, character, contents, authorship, date, and relation to other Scriptures. So that if in their research they have discovered Greek influence, their judgment is

entitled to all the greater weight. The conviction of the majority of recent critics, after such careful analysis, is that a number of the canonical books fall within the Greek period (333—150 B.C.) namely, two books of the Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Daniel, Esther, Chronicles, and possibly Job. And the question is, what degree of Greek thought do these books disclose? And if any, is it of such extent and character as to have influenced the "Thought, Form and Development of the Jewish Religion"? Let us look into three of them, Psalms, Ecclesiastes and Daniel.

First, the Psalms. In the Hebrew text the Psalter is divided into five books, the first containing Psalms 1—41, the second 42—72, the third 73—89, the fourth 90—106, the fifth 107—150. Robertson Smith says that books four and five, the last sixty-one Psalms, must be thrown into the Greek period, and probably not the earliest part thereof. And he finds his conclusion supported by a variety of indications. It does not follow that all the Psalms of these two collections were written during that period. Some of them may be much older, but may not have been introduced into the Psalters compiled for religious use until that time. Hymn books were made then in very much the same manner as they are made now—collected and enlarged and edited at various times, and as necessity required. And some of those older Psalms are indicated by recent writers on the Psalter. What then are the indications of the late origin of the last sixty-one Psalms, and what Greek flavor do they show?

(1) There is the language, showing in some instances a strong leaven of foreign idioms, as in 139 which the critics say is a bad mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic. (2) The musical titles, the Jewish marks of liturgical service have entirely disappeared. "This implies a revolution in the national music which we can hardly explain in any other way than by the influence of that Hellenic culture which from the time of the Macedonian conquest began to work such changes in the whole civilization and art of the East." (3) The general tone of large portions of this collection is much more cheerful than that of the earlier books of the Psalter. It may be deemed a flimsy conjecture, but the sunny cheerfulness of the Greek character may have influenced the social and religious temperament of the Jews in the best days



of Macedonian rule, when, of all the subject-peoples, they enjoyed the largest favor at the hands of their masters. In such circumstances, they would naturally entertain a more genial view of the government of the world. This cheerful tone is quite observable in the first Psalm of book iv., number 90 of the Psalter. There is a free review indeed of circumstances of trial and anxiety, but there is also the anticipation of a brighter and happier coming time.

“Oh satisfy in the morning with thy mercy ;  
That we may rejoice and be glad all our days.  
Let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us ;  
And establish Thou the work of our hands upon us ;  
Yea the work of our hands establish Thou it.”

—(14, 17).

(4) While in many of the following Psalms there are references to deeds of oppression and violence, more generally Israel appears contented and happy, as might be expected under the Ptolemies during the third century B.C. The problems of the Divine Justice are no longer burning questions, and the righteousness of God is seen in the peaceful felicity of the pious. So we read in Psalm 101 such words of strong trust as these :

“I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress,  
My God, in whom I trust.”

And in Psalm 92 such words of sweet content as these :

“It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord,  
And to sing praises unto Thy name, O most high ;  
To show forth Thy loving kindness in the morning,  
And Thy faithfulness every night ;  
To show that the Lord is upright ;  
He is my rock, and there is no unrighteousness in Him.”

—(1, 2, 15).

The Jews were still a scattered, and practically exiled people, and bearing the yoke of foreign masters, but not a galling yoke, and so the current of their religious and social life ran smoothly.

“Praise the Lord (they wrote and sang) ;  
Oh give thanks unto the Lord, for He is good :  
For His mercy endureth forever.  
He made them also to be pitied  
Of all those that carried them captives.

Save us Oh Lord our God,  
 And gather us from among the nations  
 To give thanks unto Thy holy name,  
 And to triumph in Thy praise."

—(106: 1, 46, 47.)

But some of these later Psalms indicate another condition of things, namely, struggle followed by victory. The stress is past and the time for victory and celebration has come. The saints are represented with the hymn of praise in their mouth, and the sharp sword in their hand. The temple is thronged with worshippers, and there is a great day of thanksgiving. And the event can belong to only one period, the first victories of the Maccabees over Antiochus Epiphanes, culminating in the purification of the temple from the defilement which he had inflicted upon it, and the restoration of the worship of the national sanctuary about 165 B.C. This is how the psalmist refers to it:

"Oh give thanks unto the Lord, for He is good ;  
 For His mercy endureth forever.  
 Let the house of Aaron now say,  
 That His mercy endureth forever.  
 Out of my distress I called upon the Lord ;  
 The Lord answered me, and set me in a large place,  
 All nations compassed me about ;  
 In the name of the Lord will I cut them off.  
 The voice of rejoicing and salvation is in the tents of the  
                   righteous ;  
 The right hand of the Lord doeth valiantly.  
 This is the day which the Lord hath made ;  
 We will rejoice and be glad in it,  
 Save now, we beseech Thee Oh Lord ;  
 Oh Lord, we beseech Thee, send now prosperity."

—(118: 1, 3, 5, 15, 24).

Some of the older Psalms were chanted at all the great national and religious festivals ; but no collection of the older Psalms—so many of them having their own special local coloring and flavor—could suffice for such events as the celebration of the Maccabean victory, and the purification of the temple ; and there is every reason to think, as Robertson Smith says, that the group of Psalms called the hallel (113—118), were arranged, especially in

the closing part, for the same ceremony. On the whole, it is not the pre-exilic pieces that give the tone to the collection, but the post-exilic. Now in all this, it may be said there is little that could have appreciably affected the faith of Israel. True ; but it was the beginning of an influence which at a later day found a congenial home in Alexandria, where it rapidly developed, and whence it issued to modify powerfully later Judaism, and through Judaism, the religious conceptions of Jesus and His Apostles, and the early Christian Church.

It may be that in another direction, the Psalms of the Greek period reveal a more positive influence on Jewish Religion. What is the conception of God, to be gathered from them ? Of course, whatever that may be, it is safe to say, it did not originate at that time. Its germ was planted in a far earlier time—in the Semitic origins, or in Mosaic, or prophetic, or exilic, or Persian time ; yet in some of its phases, it might be expected to receive important emphasis from the impact of Greek thought and life. In two Psalms of the Persian period (65, 67) are to be found these exceedingly fine lines reflecting the Jewish conception of the Divine justice and compassion and personality :

“Oh Thou that hearest prayer  
Unto Thee may all flesh come.”

—(65 : 3).

Let the peoples rejoice and shout for joy ;  
Because Thou wilt judge the nations rightly,  
And wilt guide the peoples upon earth.

—(67 : 5).

This true and genial conception of God and the world receives further expansion in the religious ideas of a subsequent age. From the first there were well-marked contradictory characteristics in Jewish thought. On the one hand it was intensely sectarian and exclusive. The true God was their God, and theirs alone, and they were the chosen people, and they alone. And this characteristic predominated. But on the other hand Prophets and Psalmists repeatedly breathed a larger and more tolerant spirit. What an incomparable rebuke is administered to Jewish pride of race in a passage imbedded in the Babylonian Isaiah (56, 1—8) though most probably composed in the legalistic age of Nehemiah ? It refers apparently to certain foreign converts at Babylon who

desired to join the community at Jerusalem, but feared an unfriendly reception. And there is the exquisite book of Jonah, now by so many assigned to the next generation after Ezra. And what is it but the teaching of some unknown prophet who belonged to a free and catholic-spirited school which was uttering its protest against the too legalistic spirit of his own church? He is showing in a striking allegorical way that Israel cannot evade their missionary duty, and that their preaching should be of mercy and justice. And as it is not probable that the Jewish preachers had very free access to a Gentile audience during the Persian period, the writer, who appears to experience no difficulty with the machinery of the story by sea or land, transports the unwilling Jonah to the Assyrian court, and represents him as accomplishing the most astonishing missionary results, indicating in this way the gigantic magnitude of the work that Israel might do if only imbued with an adequate sense of their true mission. Such is the noble idea of Divine Fatherhood, and human brotherhood, to be found in the older Jewish writings. And the same idea shines out more brightly and explicitly in some of the later Psalms than anywhere else in Jewish literature. This is the prayer of a Psalmist of the Greek period :

"Let Thy mercies also come unto me, Oh Lord,  
Even Thy salvation according to Thy word,  
And I will speak of Thy testimonies before kings  
And will not be ashamed."

—(119 : 41, 46).

That is, let him be visited himself with a fresh salvation, and a new sense of his own personal mercies, and he will declare before kings for their salvation what the Lord hath done for his own soul. And the same Psalmist, or another of that period said :

"Thou shalt arise and have pity on Zion,

\* \* \*

So the nations shall fear the name of the Lord,  
And all the kings of the earth Thy glory.  
This shall be written for the generations to come,  
And a people shall be created who shall praise the Lord."

—(102 : 13, 15, 18).

This Psalmist was pleading with Jehovah to help them rebuild Jerusalem and re-establish the sanctuary; and one of his pleas

was that this great mercy to destitute Israel would attract the heathen to fear Jehovah's name. To warmly love the heathen was not possible so long as Israel suffered cruelties and wrongs at their hands ; but let peace and safety be assured, and the fraternal, benign spirit, will have a freer scope. And in that respect the Jewish people were not singular at all. When men are struggling for freedom, or worse, for bare existence, and are made the sport of one tyrant after another, the struggle for life is too bitter and uncertain to permit a missionary and altruistic spirit even to take root, much less to flourish. But with the dawn of a better time comes the dawn of a more humane spirit and a larger hope. For a considerable time in the earlier part of the Hellenic rule, the Jews were well treated and much trusted, and proved themselves worthy of every consideration they received from their new masters. They witnessed with their own eyes the organizing power of Greek genius, the moderation on the whole, of the conquerors towards the conquered, the superiority of the new order of things to the brute force exercised by the later Persian satraps and generals ; and they therefore naturally developed something of the larger, more tolerant and comprehensive spirit which that condition of things was so eminently fitted to evoke. And besides, how natural that they should have sympathized with the more sanguine Greeks in the noble dream that a great and lasting union of nations was at hand, and that theirs would be no inglorious part in effecting so splendid a result. And thus, Greek dominion was the condition under which a persuasive presentation of the true religion became possible. And in the earlier days of so enchanting a hope this is how a Psalmist sang :

“For Thou Lord art good and ready to forgive,  
And plenteous in mercy unto all them that call upon Thee.  
All nations whom Thou hast made shall come and  
worship before Thee, Oh Lord ;  
And they shall glorify Thy name.

—(86 : 5, 9, 10).

That is something like a new note in the lute of Zion ! And this from another Psalm of the same time is even more striking :

“Glorious things are spoken of Thee, O City of God.  
I will make mention of Egypt and Babylon as among  
them that know Me :

Behold Philistia and Tyre with Ethiopia :

This one was born there.

The Lord shall count, when He writeth up the people,

This one was born there."

—(87: 3. 4. 5).

May we not therefore conclude that the Greek influence on Jewish Religion as disclosed in the later Psalmists was to show how great and exceptional was the past history of Israel ; to bring out God from the shadowy realm into a more distinct and sympathetic personality ; to apprehend Him as the merciful and just Ruler, and the Father of all ; to deepen the religious interest of the Jew in man as man ; and to fill his own heart with a more genial conception of the world ?

Secondly, what light does the book of Ecclesiastes throw on the problem before us ? The majority of the critics assign to it a comparatively late date, when the Jews had lost their national independence, and formed but a province of the Persian empire, possibly later, when they had passed under the rule of the Greeks. The names of Ewald, Ginsburg, and Driver may be mentioned. Others like Tyler and Plumptre argue for a still later date, somewhere between 240 B.C., the date of the death of Zeno, and 181 B.C., that of the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes. If the later date be allowed, there was ample time for the diffusion of Greek thought throughout large portions of the empire ; and there was much in Greek philosophy and literature to interest and influence a man of the strongly inquisitive and reflective spirit of the writer of this book. "In the absence of external evidence the date has to be decided on the ground of internal notes of time and place, as seen in the language, thought and structure of the book." And on that evidence it has been put by Tyler and Plumptre far down in the Greek period. The object of this paper is not to examine this evidence, or discuss the opinions of Koheleth, or determine his point of view, or systematize, or harmonize his utterances ; but taking the book as it stands, to ascertain how far he is influenced, if at all, in his religious and ethical opinions by Greek ideas ; and to ascertain further, how far the Greek element in the book has modified Jewish religious thought. Let me then put in as concise a form as possible what I have gathered in these respects. Plumptre says that the book is "throughout absolutely

saturated with Greek thought and language, and that the evidence of this has such cumulative force, that one is compelled to admit that the book could not well have been written before the schools of the Garden and the Porch—of Epicurus and Zeno—had obtained a prominent position, not earlier than 250 B.C.” And what are the philosophical opinions said to have been borrowed from Epicurus and Zeno ?

Take the school of Epicurus. His own works have perished, but we can gather from his followers Lucretius and Horace the features of his system which impressed them most. As to morals, Epicurus taught that “pleasure is the sovereign good of man ; for all beings from their birth, pursue pleasure and avoid pain. And pleasure consists in the activity of the soul ; in the enjoyment of agreeable sensations, or in the absence of those which are painful. The chief good is a state entirely free from suffering, the results of the satisfaction of our natural and necessary wants, appetites and desires. And prudence is the first of the virtues.” And so on. As to nature and theology, it is difficult to frame a few sentences which will fairly represent the teaching of the school. But if Lucretius (95—52 B.C.) truly represents his master, it will be extremely interesting to note how frequently he and Koheleth (Ecclesiastes) speak in almost identical terms. The following comparison is mainly based on Plumptre :

1. They agree in speaking of many of the phenomena of nature, and of the facts of life.

Koheleth—“All the rivers run into the sea, yet the sea is not full.”  
—(Eccl. 1 : 5, 6, etc.)

Lucretius—“And first men wonder, nature leaves the sea  
Not greater than before, though to it flows  
So great a rush of waters.”

—(De Rer. Nat. 6 : 608).

2. They agree in tone, and almost in phrase, as to the similar dissolution of man and beast.

Koh.—“That which befalleth the sons of men, befalleth beasts.”

“Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was ; and the spirit return unto the God who gave it.”

—(Eccl. 3 : 19 ; 12 : 7.)

Lucr.—That also which from earth first came, to earth  
Returns, and that which from the Ether's coasts  
Was sent, the vast wide regions of the sky  
Receive again, returning to its home.

—(De Rer. Nat. 2 : 998).

3. They agree as to human ignorance of all that comes after death.

Koh.—“Who knoweth the spirit of man that goeth upward,  
and the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth ? ”

—(Eccl. 3 : 21).

Lucr.—“We know not what the nature of the soul,  
Or born, or entering into men at birth,  
Or whether with our frame it perisheth,  
Or treads the gloom and regions vast of death.”

—(De Rer. Nat. 1 : 113—116).

4. They agree as to the secret of enjoyment, at least in the passing mood of Koheleth.

Koh.—“There is nothing better for a man than that he should eat and drink, and that he should make his soul enjoy good in his labor.”

—(Eccl. 2 : 24 ; 3 : 22 ; 5 : 18 ; 9 : 7, 8).

Lucr.—“While reclining in soft sweet grass  
They lie in groups along the river bank,  
Beneath the branches of some lofty tree,  
And at small cost find sweet refreshment there,  
What time the season smiles, and spring-tide weeks  
Re-gem the herbage green with many a flower.”

—(De Rer. Nat. 2 : 24—33).

Did space permit, it would be instructive to extend these points of correspondence, and indicate others between Koheleth and the Stoics, and Greek poets of an earlier age than the schools of the Garden and the Porch, but the above must suffice.

And now the question arises, how far did the Greek thought apparent in Ecclesiastes prevail among the Jewish people, and influence their general religious doctrine ? The circumstances which called such a writing into existence need to be remembered. It was a sad time. Anarchy and oppression and wrong prevailed. As the writer saw it, the world was corrupt and full of injustice (4 : 13, 15 ; 8 : 8, 9), and capriciousness (10 : 5), and re-



volutions (10: 7), and espionage (10: 20); and hope was bankrupt. All this, the writer, a man of good social position and circumstances, saw with a keen glance, and he was frankly outspoken about things as he saw them, and freely confessed how distressing a riddle, on the surface at any rate, the whole world appeared. But he never relinquished his hold on the sturdy faith of his own people, and employed the ideas and phrases of Greek philosophy and poetry, but to give ampler expression to his passing moods. His conclusion, if indeed the conclusion of the book be his,—“Fear God and keep His commandments; for this is the whole duty of man. For God shall bring every work into judgment, with every hidden thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil”,—his conclusion is that of strong and stable Jewish faith through and through. The book cannot therefore in its Greek appropriations be regarded as in any important sense an expression of the religious sentiments of Israel. It appears indeed to occupy a position of isolation. And though dated by the later critics well within the Greek period, and regarded as strongly impregnated with Greek thought and language, it does not give much support to the idea of Greek influence having appreciably affected the Jewish Religion.

Thirdly, a few remarks on another of the later books, that of Daniel. Recent criticism places Daniel quite late—in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, 176—165 B.C. If that be the right place for it, we may expect it to throw some light on the question before us; and we may be assured of another fact, namely, that the book is not a prophecy but a history veiled in the form of an apocalypse, and therefore not the work of the Daniel of the exile. The writer begins his visions at the apparent date of the writing, in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon, and continues them down to his own time when they cease, say 168 or 167 B.C. The first six chapters consist of a history of Daniel and a series of exhortations to the people to abide steadfast in their faith. And from the seventh chapter to the end is the apocalypse proper. Here the information to be communicated is veiled under parables and symbols, the meaning of which at times it is very difficult to comprehend. But certainly, the book is much more manageable as a veiled history than as a prophecy. Regarding

it as a history, it was the outcome of the crushing calamities of that later time. It was the first of a prolific series of apocalypses, the most original, and the greatest, and the model on which all the rest were fashioned, both Jewish and Christian. The visions are a symbolic history of the four great world empires, Babylon, Media, Persia, and Greece ; and to write the book would not be so difficult for a man of vivid imagination, and extended historical knowledge about 168 B.C., when the sun of the last of the four great monarchies was sinking. One writer (Schurer) says : "The whole of the visions agree in this, that the monarchy which they foretell as being the last is the Greek one, which ultimately resolves itself into the godless rule of Antiochus Epiphanes, who, though not mentioned by name is plainly enough indicated. We have above all in the last vision (10—12) a prediction of a highly detailed character, in which are foretold the histories of the kingdoms of the Ptolemies and Seleucidae respectively—for it is these that are meant by the kingdom of the South and the kingdom of the North—and their manifold relations to one another. Here the most remarkable thing is that the prediction becomes more and more minute and detailed the nearer it approaches the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Precisely the history of this monarch is here related with the utmost minuteness, without the name being once mentioned." This in the briefest possible compass is a summary of the book. Now assuming that it is correctly placed so near the end of the Greek regime, what are the indications of Hellenic influence ?

First, we find four Greek words in the book, the names of musical instruments (3 : 5, 7, 10) : *κίθαρα*, *σαμβύκη*, *συμφωνία*, *φαλτήριον*. Liberal critics attach some importance to these terms as pointing to a Greek influence and a late date. Other critics, unmindful of their solemn function, are facetious over the said musical terms, and hold them up as a warning to their more adventurous brethren against drawing imposing and revolutionary conclusions from flimsy premises. But so cautious and moderate a man as Driver says : "Whatever may be the case with *κίθαρα*, it is incredible that *φαλτήριον* and *συμφωνία* can have reached Babylon 550 B.C. Anyone who has studied Greek history knows what the condition of the Greek world was in that century, and

is aware that the arts and inventions of civilized life streamed then into Greece from the East, and not from Greece eastwards . . . . These words it may be confidently affirmed, could not have been used in the book of Daniel unless it had been written after the dissemination of Greek influences in Asia through the conquests of Alexander the Great."

Secondly, there are other and much more interesting indications of Hellenic influence in Daniel. The writer appears to make a new departure in Jewish thought; whether the departure will affect the Jewish Religion is another matter. He is certainly intense in his Jewish sympathies, and yet he gives unmistakable evidence of broad and constructive ideas, such as he might naturally have imbibed from contact with Hellenic thought and life. His view of history—viewing his book as history—is much more comprehensive and universal than anything in any other Hebrew writing. The world is becoming larger to the Jewish vision, surely so to the vision of this writer. For there is here something like the frame-work of a "religious philosophy of history". One great empire after another rises and attains to power and wide dominion and then declines. And the principle that determines this development and sequence is dwelt upon. There is a law of life, a law of growth and decay, which regulates empires, and the largest racial and political and social organizations, as well as the individual man, or the most insignificant creature in God's world. "Righteousness exalteth a nation"; "but the name of the wicked shall rot." God's great plan embraces the nations, not Israel alone, but all the nations; and that plan as it is unfolded shows what part the succession of great empires described in the imposing symbolism of the writer, played in connection with Israel, which was to his mind in a special sense the kingdom of God, and must therefore ultimately triumph. He places himself at the point of view the historical Daniel might have taken; and as he traces the rise and decadence of the successive empires, he interprets the prophecies bearing upon them; in other words, as is the manner of philosophical historians, he gives the reasons for the vast changes that have taken place. He traces causes and effects.

The Jews had for many ages known much of Egypt, and for a shorter time they had been in contact with Babylon and Persia;

and naturally their knowledge was restricted to those countries. But their outlook must now be widened. Here is a new power that has come from across the sea, and one well fitted to excite their fear and wonder. Israel were a great people once, but fell before Babylon ; Babylon fell before Persia ; and Persia was overthrown by this new Colossus. And in thought and civilization, no less than in arms, Greece is the mistress of the world. Now, reflecting Jews like the writer of the book of Daniel, and his contemporary Psalmists saw all this plainly enough, and reasoned deeply about it, and thus gained a new view of the succession of history—a judgment day of God, of the magnitude of the world, and of the great laws by which God regulated events, and caused mighty empires to rise and fall. To this enlargement of Jewish ideas, Greece contributed by far the largest share—a share that was to exercise far-reaching influence in years to come on Christian thought throughout the world.

Undoubtedly then Israel felt in many ways the presence of Hellenic thought and life. It is visible in the late Psalms, in Ecclesiastes, in the broad constructive lines on which the book of Daniel is written, and not unlikely in other late Scriptures as well ; at the same time, the force of this presence or impact was not strong enough, or religious enough, or long enough in action to materially affect the great religious doctrines of the people, whatever the slight and shifting effects it may have had on some of the details of their life and ritual. For the Torah or Law was the great religious manual of the Jewish people, the great moulding religious force in their life ; next to it came the Prophetic Orations and the older Histories ; and later, and of far less importance in their eyes than the two earlier compilations, the Sacred Writings and the Chronicles. And the very latest editorial touch the Law received must have been given to it sometime, possibly a long time, before the Jews of the dispersion or of Palestine came into first contact with the thought and civilization of Greece.

M. M.

NOTE.—The latest authorities were freely consulted and used in the preparation of the above paper.—M. M.

## ARE OUR AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS DEGENER- ATING ?

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**L**IKE the railway and the telegraph, the newspaper—originally a purely private enterprise—has now acquired a quasi-public character, and is no longer to be wholly judged by the rules which govern private undertakings. Education has largely reached the masses, and the newspaper has now in this country, a place in probably most households, and exercises a direct influence on the morals of the people, as well as on their education. On the tone of its contents depends the nature of that influence. A Police Gazette with its illustrated descriptions of crime must tend, in a measure, to bring its constant readers down in their tastes, to the level of the slums of the cities. How far such a journal should be permitted in a moral community becomes a matter of public interest. A newspaper that would give frequent currency to private scandals, even if they had a savor of truth about them, would assume a position, in the toleration of which, the interests of society as well as of the individuals affected, would require to be considered. On the other hand, the journal which preserves a high moral tone, not only retains the respect of its readers, but has its influence in the formation of character, and in the preservation, intact, of the standards of morality.

Whilst society thus claims the right to criticize favourably or otherwise, the nature of the news selected by the newspaper, and the moral tone of its columns, it must admit that, if certain objectionable features could be removed, this tone is, making allowances for the occasional difficulties of control in the insertion of news, generally speaking, good, and further, that in perhaps no department of business, have there been more energy and enterprise displayed than in the collection of news and its prompt publication. The telegraph and the telephone have been, in this respect, the handmaidens of the press.

In dealing with criminal cases, what is the position assumed by many of the great United States dailies and even by some Canadian journals of large circulation in regard to the nature of

the news given to their readers, and which is being followed in a less degree by smaller journals? When the educated public desires to get information about important events in other parts of the world, it too often has served up to it, instead, or alongside, news which can only be regarded as the garbage of the slums. The chronicling of crime forms, in fact, such a feature in the modern newspaper that we are apt to assume that the world is becoming morally worse, instead of better, under the influence of Christianity; and yet, the reason simply is that we now, through the press, hear more about crime. A well-known New York editor justifies his course by saying that he knows best what his readers want. Must we then shift the blame entirely to the reading public? It will be admitted at once that a journal which does not consult the wants of its readers cannot hope to retain their patronage, but even that admission has its limit. Granting that the baser passions of men and women, too often, lie merely dormant, to bring them to life or to further excite them, whether by an idle tale, a passing newspaper paragraph or a wayward novel is, to say the least, ill-advised. How many of his readers would be aware of the news of the slums at all, unless the editor provided this news for them? Would the general public, in very many cases, regard an incident as a *Cause Célèbre* unless the editor by repeated allusions to it endeavoured to make it such? Is it not, too often, that, with a view to circulation, he trades upon the weaknesses of men and women? If newspaper proprietors will cater to the lower instincts of the people, why do they not publish a special Police Court edition which can circulate in the slums, and give readers who desire to be pure minded an edition which can circulate in each family without fear of awakening vulgar ideas and impure thoughts?

It will be said by some that those who object to the publication of the reports of crime are not compelled to read them. Probably many do not read them, but think of the thousands of young and even old men and women, who, attracted by the flaming black-letter headings, and by the wood-cuts illustrative of the crime, do read them! Can the effect be anything but harmful? It will be said by others that publication is in the interests of morality and will arouse in many minds an abhorrence of crime. Some allusion to a crime and its punishment may be justified on

this ground, but not the publication of all the filthy details illustrated by wood-cuts to make them more attractive. Such details are only certain to stir up improper thoughts in the minds of thousands of readers. The newspaper has not merely a private end in view—that of being profitable to its owner—but, from its public character, it has a public function to perform. With a large class of readers, their papers and their magazines are taking the place of books, whilst another still larger class has probably never had many books or perhaps anything but the newspaper. The average working man, and, in the whirl of business, many in middle-class life, look to their daily or weekly papers for nearly all the reading matter they indulge in, and frequently for the opinions which they form on current topics. The booksellers, indeed, inform us that—outside of the novel—the regarding public is buying fewer books than it formerly did. Thus has the publisher of the newspaper a magnificent opportunity for doing good, and his journal does not require to be of a religious type in order to exercise a great influence in this direction. Is the opportunity always taken advantage of or given proper consideration? It is to be feared not as completely as it should. Unfortunately, the race for circulation, and, consequently, for profit, is the predominating force and has generally led to the enlargement of the paper, to the necessity for more news to fill the increased space thus afforded, and, too often, to the insertion—sometimes without proper enquiry as to the truth—of anything, especially the sensational, that can be made to attract public attention or that will please certain sections of the population or certain individuals.

The effort to please individuals who may be in consequence expected to think favourably of the paper and probably thus help its circulation, has led to the appearance of the column of “Personals” now so marked a feature in many United States and some Canadian journals. The unimportant doings of, too frequently, unimportant people are thus given publicity and an apparent importance which they do not deserve. Any person entertaining a guest in his house can now have the fact proclaimed to the world at large, whilst the possessor of enough money to buy a railway ticket for a summer holiday can have his departure announced, as well as the place to which he has gone, and, in addition, later on, can have a record of the date of his return, and, sometimes,

of how he has enjoyed himself. It is understood that the paragraphs are generally written or suggested by the individuals interested and sent to the editor. The giving of a fictitious importance to persons, who can, probably in many cases, in no other way, see themselves in print cannot be productive of good. Men have to find that it is by merit alone they must win their spurs. The same craving for publicity is seen in the publication in recent years in book form of biographical sketches of Canadians. Instead of making a selection of men who had won a merited place in science, literature, art or politics, the publishers in each case appear to have freely opened the columns of the work to those who could afford a price for the imaginary fame a place in the books would give them, and to the exclusion of names better known. As works of reference such publications are practically useless and are hardly creditable to either editors or publishers.

Paragraphs of a personal nature do not, however, always find a free insertion in the press. The regularity with which the doings of young professional men, newly established detectives, and others are sometimes chronicled in special paragraphs and telegraphic despatches is very suggestive of the fact that either the individuals thus advertised pay for the paragraphs at so much per line, or, that a reporter has a good fee to keep these individuals in remembrance. The temptation to the poorly paid reporter to accept this fee and to persuade himself that the information is of public interest is no doubt very great. How far a responsible editor, in his duty to his readers, should permit his news space to be filled up, as is so often the case, with such quasi-advertisements and with matters of only individual interest is another question.

The crowding of the columns of the average city daily with trivial items which often have not even the merit of a petty local importance, to the exclusion of news of great events happening in other parts of the world, is not fair to educated readers. How often does it happen that such trivial matters are each given a score or two of lines, when for the account of a battle on another continent where grave British interests were involved, or on which the fate of perhaps some important state depended, we have to be content with a cable of half a dozen or less of lines,



and are compelled to refer to the great London or other dailies for fuller accounts. It will, of course, be said that a large section of the community is more interested in the petty trivialities of life surrounding them than in great events happening outside of their immediate sphere. This may be so with many, but is not really the case with those who profess to be educated, and would be less a truth if the newspaper provided the more important news to the exclusion of trivialities. An editor has in a large measure the power to raise or lower the tastes of his readers in this respect.

Truth should be at the basis of all news. The breezy reporter who is on the constant *qui vive* for exciting news goes too frequently unchecked. A mere rumor, without perhaps any foundation, becomes too often in the reporters' room a catchy paragraph which has all the appearance of truth, and is accepted by the public as such. It may be contradicted in another journal—possibly also in the paper first giving it credence—but, in the meantime, the harm is done.

In the United States, outside of the politicians, the more educated classes, and, especially, those who have travelled abroad, have a kindly feeling towards the mother country and a breadth of view which presents a strange contrast to the editorials, sometimes so full of invective against Great Britain, and, occasionally, so distortive of the truth, which at times appear in leading party organs of that country. And yet, the calm judgment of an editor can be readily twisted—especially when Presidential or Congressional elections are in the near future—in order to pander to the prejudices of that large section of the population of the cities which leaving the old land for the colonies, remained Great Britain's friends, but, emigrating to the United States, in so many instances, became its enemies.

We also want more manliness in the tone of our own party newspapers. They appear to overlook the fact that large circles of their readers are not of the party stripe, but are men who, whilst desirous of information, and ready to hear arguments, think for themselves. Depreciation of, or suspicions cast upon, good measures promoted by the opposite party are not likely to secure the sympathy of people of this class. On the other hand, the

suppression of facts detrimental to their own party views may meet the approval of the extreme members of the party, but will not obtain favour with the large circle of men of moderate views who, so often, when they vote, carry the tide with them in the elections. And yet, party acrimony is carried to such a length in the United States and Canada that it is sometimes difficult to find a party journal sufficiently straight forward to take an independent view of a purely political subject. That this need not be the case is shown in the ready confidence which the leading Liberal organs in Great Britain, at the present time, repose in the Marquis of Salisbury's foreign policy and the support which they give to it.

The great English and Scotch dailies more nearly approach in character to the ideal newspaper than our leading American journals. They may not be always as enterprising in regard to local telegraphic news, but they are less sensational, are dignified in tone, and have on their staffs, both at home and in foreign capitals, men of great ability, whose contributions are always of a high order. Their columns are intended for educated readers, and the enormous circulation of some of them proves that papers of a high tone are appreciated.

A. T. DRUMMOND.

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FROM SHELLEY.

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The good want power, but to weep barren tears,  
The powerful goodness want, worse need for them,  
The wise want love; and those who love want wisdom,  
And all best things are thus confused to ill.

—*Prometheus Unbound.*

## VEGETABLE PHYSIOLOGY.

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**W**E learn from Aristotle that the ancients looked upon plants as living creatures closely related to animals. From this belief the idea naturally originated that the phenomena of animal life were reproduced in plants even to minute details. Physiological questions were carried over from the animal to the vegetable kingdom, and many fanciful analogies and points of resemblance presented themselves to the poetic and scientific imagination of the times. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries philosophers discussed the nature of the soul in plants and its locality, whether it existed in one special point, or was diffused universally and equally through the whole organism. As late as 1735, Linnaeus lays down in solemn aphoristic sentences and with minute detail, the physiological resemblances between the individuals in these two departments of nature. By the progress of investigation deceptive analogies were detected and dismissed, and fundamental relationship discovered. The vital phenomena exhibited by the protoplasm, the function of nutrition embracing the processes of nourishment, and the methods of propagation were found to present remarkable points of similarity.

At the beginning of the present century, the improvement in the microscope, and the advances in chemistry and physics enabled Phytotomists to examine tissues and discover their structure and contents. As the internal structure became better known, and the different tissues were distinguished, it became possible by means of experiments to discover their physiological functions. But the living plant must be experimented upon, as the direct observation of vital phenomena is the only foundation of all physiology; "these must be evoked or altered by experiment and studied in their connection, before they can be referred to physical and chemical causes." The progress in discovery was slow till about 1840, when the improvements in mechanical contrivances, and new methods in chemical experimentation, gave a fresh impulse to botanic work in its various departments.

Not till near the close of the decade of the thirties\*, when Dr. Asa Gray published his little Text-Book, the "Elements of Botany", and a few years later his "Text-Book for Colleges" and his "Manual", could Botany be said to have any recognized standing in the curriculum of a college education on this continent. Owing to the admirable arrangement of their contents, the lucidity of their style, and the scientific accuracy of their descriptions, these volumes at once won the popular favor, and became the recognized Text-Books when botanical studies were introduced into the educational institutions of America. They were free from the philosophic speculations and severe technical style of the earlier writers. They breathed the spirit of a master who looked out upon the plants of his native land with the penetrating glance of a well-trained eye, and with the sympathetic feelings of a noble heart in close communion with nature and with nature's God. Their fresh and vigorous style was redolent of the forests and prairies whose flora they described. They gave inspiration to many an ardent student, and awakened an interest in botanic studies which still increases with the passing years.

The "Botanical Text-Book" appeared in 1842, and like his other works speedily ran through several editions, each of which was partly rewritten, till it reached its final form in the sixth edition in 1879. Structural Botany was almost exclusively the department studied in this country when these works appeared. Teachers and students alike devoted their attention to the forms and arrangements of the parts of flowering plants, with the special object of acquiring the power of detecting and naming the plants which happened to come under their observation. From the time of Linnaeus it had become a firmly accepted principle that the "highest and only worthy task of a botanist was to know all the species of the vegetable kingdom by name", and at the present day "the general public consider it as a self-evident proposition that a botanist exists essentially for the purpose of at once designating any plant by a name." This alone is held to be the *raison d'être* of his existence.

Physiology, as now understood, had scarcely begun to attract attention in this country when the above works appeared. A

\*See the admirable address of Prof. J. C. Arthur before the Botanical section of the Association for the Advancement of Science, at Springfield, Aug. 1895.

chapter in the fourth edition of the Text-Book (1857) contained all the information accessible to the average student, but it awakened a strong desire for more. The "First Lessons in Botany and Vegetable Physiology" (1857) continued to be the standard educational guide till 1887, when it was remodelled and appeared under a new name. Great advances were made in Germany between 1860 and 1870. Extensive laboratories with the rich supplies of compound microscopes and reagents were introduced into the leading Universities. During the next ten years the spirit of physiological investigation crossed the Atlantic and invaded the educational centres of this country. The long established idea that the study of Botany required only a text-book, a few plants, a microscope and a table near a window, was rudely dispelled, and a wealth of laboratories for different departments of work, with newly invented apparatus, took the place of the little room devoted to the study of the local flora. The appearance of the second edition of Sach's remarkable Text-Book in an English version (1882) gave an additional impulse to the study. Its grand generalizations and vast range of knowledge introduced the reader to new and inviting fields of observation, and raised the intellectual standard of botanic work to a higher plane. "Bessey's Botany" (1880) founded upon Sach's first edition, became for the next ten years, a standard work in botanic instruction and helped largely to forward "the triumphal advancement of botany during the decade of the eighties." Many guides for microscopic work and dissection of plants began to appear, and the production still goes on with accelerated speed. A change, which has been well styled a revolution, in both the subjects and methods of study filled the minds of the older Botanists with alarm. The study of the cell took the place of herbarium work. The Systematists charged that, while the knowledge of minute structure was attained, breadth of view and proper perspective were lost. "The ancient method", said a writer who described the change, "gives a wide range of acquaintance with external forms, a general knowledge of the plant kingdom and its affinities, a living interest in the surrounding flora; but it disregards the underlying morphology of minute structures and chemical processes, the great principles which bring the plant-life into one organic whole. The modern method on the contrary

takes a few types, carefully examines their minutest structures and life work, and grounds well in general biological principles ; but it loses the relation of things, as well as any knowledge of the display of the plant kingdom in its endless diversity, and, worse than all for the naturalist, cultivates no love for a flora at hand and inviting attention. The former is the method of the field, the latter of the laboratory." (Quoted in Prof. Arthur's address.)

The publication of Darwin's remarkable works not only infused a new and higher life into the study of Natural Science, but changed the point of view and method of treatment in almost every department of human knowledge. His accurate observations and profound interpretation of the phenomena of plant life threw a new light upon every fact and imparted to it an importance which older writers never dreamed of. Plants were regarded as dumb intelligences possessed of vast stores of valuable information. Methods of interrogating them were devised. Complicated and ingenious machines were invented to draw forth and register their answers. A visit to a well-equipped physiological laboratory excites curiosity and wonder by its liberal display of mechanical contrivances whose numerous wheels and bands inspire a sense of importance, particularly appealing to a large class of persons in this age of machinery, and constituting an element in securing favourable attention from the public, while it adds a charm to the work of investigation.

Vines' "Physiology of Plants" (1886), an English translation of Sach's lectures on the same subject, (1887), and Vines' "Text-Book of Botany" (1895), may be regarded as landmarks indicating the height of the successive waves of the incoming tide of botanic study which is still rising with increasing momentum, sweeping away the barriers that vainly resist its progress. Already it has flowed into the fields of Chemistry and Physics, and is exercising an important influence on the agriculture and commerce of the civilized nations of the world. The establishment of Botanic Gardens and Experimental Farms, with their costly equipment of laboratories and mechanical appliances for experimentation, is rapidly changing the agricultural conditions and capabilities of every country, To adequately meet the requirements of modern Botany, says Prof. J. C. Arthur, in the way of laboratories, gardens, herbaria, libraries and apparatus, requires

a capital that not long since would have been deemed fabulous. This year (1895) New York is spending \$750,000 to secure and equip a Botanic Garden with necessary buildings and laboratories.

The subjects embraced under the term, "Vegetable Physiology," include all the phenomena of vegetable life, the chief functions of the organs or their physiological work, and are so various, and demand such different methods of study, that it is difficult to arrange them in any logical sequence. Nature does not develop her productions in a continuous linear series. The tree with its numerous roots, branches, leaves, flowers and fruits, symbolizes her method of procedure, and any natural classification can only be arrived at when all the phenomena are known.

By interrogating a few simple unicellular plants we may get a glimpse of the methods which the Physiologist employs to draw forth answers from the dumb intelligences with which he deals. By placing the yeast-plant (*Saccharomyces Cerevisiæ*), which is easily obtained, under the microscope, we notice that it is a small, almost globular, mass of protoplasm enclosed in a thin, flexible, cell-wall containing a number of minute granules. If a nutritive fluid be supplied, the cells may be seen to multiply actively by the formation of small bud-like projections which gradually enlarge until they attain the size of the parent cell, when they become detached and constitute new individuals. The rapidity of the multiplication measures the activity of the organism in the production of new protoplasm and cell-walls. If a few of the plants be placed in some distilled water they will not increase, but, on the contrary, the quantity of protoplasm in the cells will diminish and a loss of substance be detected. Again, if a quantity of yeast be dried and burned, it will give rise to a certain amount of heat, due to the conversion of the accumulated potential energy into the kinetic form. The breaking up of the complex chemical molecules in the body of the cells is accompanied by the same change of potential into kinetic energy,—a fact easily proved by placing a thermometer in some actively growing yeast, when the temperature of the mass will be found to be several degrees above that of the surrounding air.

We may now take another one-celled plant that may be found in any vessel of rain water collected from the roof of a building,

(*Protococcus pluvialis*.) It is a small, green, pear-shaped body furnished with a pair of hair-like processes (cilia) by means of which it swims about with great activity, and resembles an animal rather than a plant. Like the Yeast-plant, it consists of a minute mass of protoplasm surrounded by a cell-wall formed of the substance known as cellulose, and like it absorbs sufficient food from the surrounding medium to maintain itself and reproduce its kind. During a part of its life it becomes quiescent while important changes take place in its internal structure. From these simple observations the Physiologist learns that Protoplasm is a living, active, substance, endowed with a marvellous combination of properties, such as the following :—

(1) It is absorptive, inasmuch as it is capable of taking up into its own substance the materials fitted for food ; (2) it is assimilative, and employs the particles of food in building up the complex structure of the organic substances of which it is composed, (anabolism) ; (3) it can also decompose complex molecules into those of simple composition, and select those useful for its own purposes, (catabolism) ; (4) it is excretory and throws off the products of its destructive metabolism which are unnecessary for its purposes ; (5) it exhibits reproductive power by separating from itself portions of its own substance which lead an independent life as distinct individuals ; (6) the movements of its cilia prove it to be contractile ; (7) it is therefore automatic, as the exciting cause that produces the contraction resides in the organism itself ; (8) its movements are greatly affected and modified by the action of external stimuli, proving it to be irritable. Many other deductions will suggest themselves to the thoughtful reader.

A remarkable peculiarity of Protoplasm is its power of rejuvenescence. When a mass of it is separated into two or more portions, each fragment develops into a new individual which at once assumes the character and displays the actions of youth. Whilst observing its juvenile career we can sympathise with the plea of the French Naturalist who cut a living Hydra into pieces each of which became a new individual, that he was not chargeable with cruelty, as he only restored the fragments to a condition of early youth with all the pleasures of a juvenile existence before them. Increasing study of protoplasm is con-



stantly revealing more of its wonderful complexity. What was regarded, a few years ago, a homogeneous mass is now resolved into "cytoplasm, the plastids, the nucleus, the nucleoli, the fibrillar network, the chromosomes, the centrosomes, the kinoplasmic spindle and the polar bodies", each of which is possessed of functions and properties peculiar to itself. (Prof. J. C. Arthur.) What further divisions and functions may be discovered in this wonderful substance, well styled by Huxley "the Physical basis of life", cannot at present be conjectured. The simple fact that "even the minutest cell exhibits all the elementary phenomena of life, that it breathes and takes nourishment, that it moves and reacts against stimuli" (Prof. Verworn) shows that many questions respecting reproduction, nourishment and growth, remain to be answered.

A classification of the subjects embraced under the term, "Vegetable Physiology", will serve to give the reader a clearer idea of its magnitude and importance than any general statements could possibly convey.

I. General Physiology includes :—

1. The physiological functions of the cell both in its reproductive and vegetative aspects ; the functions of the various tissues and of the members which they compose. For example, the tegumentary tissue possesses the function of absorption, which especially takes place in the roots, and also prevents excessive transpiration by the opening and closing of its stomata. The parenchymatous tissue discharges various functions, such as assimilating carbon, excreting waste products, forming depositaries of reserve or plastic substances and serves as conducting tissue for various materials. The other tissues also perform various important functions. The different members, root, stem, leaf, flowers, have each their special functions to discharge.

2. The social economy of the plant, "or its relation to other plants and animals and the world at large", its adaptations to the medium in which it grows, whether on land or in water, and to locality, whether in the sands by the seashore, or on the broad prairie, or the mountain peak, or on the rocky heights, its suitability to climatic conditions and its means of protection against cold, heat, rain, wind, its relations to gravity and electrical con-

ditions, its colors, odors, and mechanical arrangements to secure the visits of insects for the purpose of fertilization, its modes of defence against the attacks of injurious insects and of larger animals, the curious and effective contrivances of many plants, requiring supplies of nitrogen, for capturing and digesting their prey, the marvellous arrangements for the distribution of its seeds, all that is involved in the struggle for existence, the laws of natural selection and the survival of the fittest. No department of natural science demands more careful observation on the part of the lover of nature. The destruction produced by a single insect, or the disease due to the presence of some vegetable parasite, may make all the difference between plenty and famine. So important is the subject of the diseases of plants, that Vegetable Pathology is assigned to a special division of the "Department of Agriculture" at Washington. These and kindred subjects furnish materials for the science of "Ecology".

II. The Physiology of Nutrition deals with the vital problem of how the plant lives and secures its food. It investigates the kinds of food (fertilizers) best adapted to promote the growth of the plant and bring about the necessary changes in the intimate structure of its substance, the means by which it takes up useful materials from air, earth and water, the chemical processes by which it converts them into its own substance (metabolism), its respiration and transpiration, its arrangements for conveying the digested food to the points where it is required, or for storing it up for future use in roots, tubers, stems, leaves, fruits, etc. Many valuable discoveries have been already made by means of Botanic gardens and Experimental farms, resulting in more abundant harvest, and improved qualities of grains, potatoes, turnips and other crops. But very much more remains to be done.

III. The Physiology of movement deals with some of the most interesting, but little understood, phenomena of plant life. The active spontaneous movements of many unicellular organisms, and the means by which they are affected, make it difficult to decide whether they belong to the animal or vegetable kingdom. The existence of irritability and consequent power of movement, the localization of the function, the transmission of stimuli, the combined effects of different stimuli, the conditions under which

movements occur and the mechanism by which they are effected, are subjects of intense interest. The knowledge already gained throws much light upon the vital phenomena of animals. Darwin's observations on "The Movements of Plants" opened up new and inviting fields for the enquiring mind.

IV. The Physiology of reproduction embraces both vegetative multiplication and reproduction by means of seeds. Our present knowledge of the processes and effects of cross-fertilization and close-fertilization, of heredity and variation, has done much to increase our harvests, and is continually originating new varieties of grains, potatoes, turnips, apples, and other products of farm and garden.

This very defective synopsis is surely enough to show that Botany takes a place among the sciences second to none in importance and in the promise of material results. No country has perceived more readily the direct benefits resulting from the study than America, and nowhere is it pursued more earnestly. In Europe the Botanical classes are chiefly attended by medical students, for whom a small amount of the knowledge of plants is still considered useful. But in America the study has taken its place side by side with the other sciences. "The attainment of equal recognition as a substantial element of an educational course, superseding the notion that it constituted only an efflorescence to be classed with belles-lettres and other refinements, was the beginning of a prosperous period." In 1887 a commencement was made in the establishment of a series of State Institutions which have given an extraordinary impulse to different branches of the study. The Agricultural Experimental Stations, Agricultural Colleges and Botanic Gardens, under the management of the Agricultural Department of the Government, have been instrumental in placing American Botanists in the first rank of investigators and instructors in pathological subjects, imparting a practical value to the subject of plant diseases which has revolutionized the agricultural industries of large areas of the country. The discovery that plants take up their carbon through their leaves and not to any important extent through their roots, and that leguminous and some other plants secure their nitrogen from the air through tubercles formed on the roots by Fungi

(Symbionts), has also contributed greatly to the advancement of agriculture. The knowledge of these and kindred facts discovered in the laboratory has raised farming to the dignity of a science, and largely increased the material prosperity of the cultivators of the soil.

The rapid widening of the field of Botany renders it more attractive, but at the same time increases the difficulties of the student. The experimental method of study is so new that he cannot always make known his wants. The limited accommodation and the meagre equipment for the old-fashioned teaching are now utterly inadequate. Rooms with special fittings and expensive apparatus are now demanded. The chemical side of Botany requires a good outfit of chemical apparatus with some special supplies, but many necessary pieces cannot be obtained in the markets owing to the newness of the subject. In the fitting of the laboratories there should be rooms for chemical work, with gas, water, sinks and hoods, and rooms for the physical work, with shafting for transmitting power to clinostats and centrifugals, with devices for regulating moisture and temperature, and other special rooms for special lines of study. It is easy to see that a well-stocked green-house is required to supply healthy plants when needed for study, but the value of a botanic garden is not so apparent, though absolutely necessary for certain departments of work.

Such an outfit, with six to eight professors and their assistants, seems to us more like the dream of an enthusiast than a reality. Friends of Queen's, desirous of extending her scientific usefulness, can easily discover here an opportunity for increasing scientific knowledge, and for contributing something to the material prosperity of their country.

J. FOWLER.

## KEATS, THE POET OF BEAUTY.

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IF IT were necessary to name the characteristic which is most clearly marked from first to last in Keats' poetry, there is little doubt that the worship of Beauty would be chosen. All his critics admit that this is the chief source of his poetical inspiration. Some go further, and find in his poetry little else besides the love of Beauty in its sensuous form. They say that this prevents his penetrating into the subtler and more spiritual manifestations of Beauty, that he is unable to interpret the deep significance of Nature, and, in spite of unsurpassed excellence in form, rhythm, and language, that he fails in the highest work of a poet. Though Time, whose test is more rigorous than that of the severest critic, has settled forever Keats' rank among the English poets, such charges prompt those who have long given him what Leigh Hunt calls "the most precious place in their hearts" to consider again the significance of his life-long worship of the Beautiful, and to seek to trace its growth and development.

The mere aspect of Beauty, in whatever form it appeared, and to whatever sense it appealed, irresistibly attracted Keats, and his first small volume, published in 1817, does leave on the mind the impression that he is mainly occupied with beauty in its purely sensuous aspect, untroubled by problems of human life, or questions of right or wrong. Although he acknowledges

"the great end

Of poesy, that it should be a friend

To soothe the cares and lift the heart of man :"

Although in the midst of his frank delight in the beauties of Nature, he says, with a sudden insight into their insufficiency,

"And can I ever bid these joys farewell?

Yes, I must leave them for a nobler life

Where I may find the agonies, the strife

Of human hearts :"

yet he is in no haste to take the step. He revels with a childlike happiness in the loveliness around him, as in his natural element ; "his fancy clear takes in all beauty with an easy span," and

makes no effort to lift the veil and pass to the hidden beauty behind. The opening lines of Wordsworth's "Ode on Immortality" suggest the prevailing tone of Keats' mind at this time—

"There was a time when meadow, grove and stream,  
The earth and every common sight,  
To me did seem  
Apparelled in celestial light,  
The glory and the freshness of a dream."

This was natural and right. It was the first phase of development of a mind keenly sensitive to beauty in every form, which was feeling its way through the external and sensuous aspect of beauty to the internal and spiritual. Keats' later poems would have been lacking on a most important side, if he had not passed through this period, nor could they have conveyed to the reader the magical sense of delight and enchantment which they possess, if Keats had not himself felt and yielded to the unreasoning and irresistible joy in all Beauty expressed in his earlier poems.

It is necessary to divide and distinguish his work. All his poems, except a very few, still unpublished at the time of his death, came out in three small volumes, published respectively in 1817, 1818, and 1820.\* The adverse criticism which has assailed his poetry, is really applicable, in the main, only to the first volume, though it is deserved, but in much less degree, by the second, while in the third there is scarcely, if any, ground for similar objections. The first volume, written while Keats was still much under the influence of Leigh Hunt, contained the early miscellaneous poems, many of the Sonnets, Sleep, Poesy, Epistles and some imitations of Spenser. Here occurs the most frequent use of certain mannerisms, besides a luxurious and sensuous quality which disappeared from his later work. Yet much that is found afterward in his poetry is already here, especially his perfection of detail, fidelity to nature and directness of phrase. The same criticism may be applied to the next volume, which only contained *Endymion*, where the general character of the work remained the same, though there was distinct advance in every point. But how tremendous was the stride made in the third and last volume! The astonishing progress is almost im-

\*Prof. P. T. Palgrave's beautiful edition of Keats' poems in the Golden Treasury Series has made the indiscriminate confusion of the date of his work inexcusable.

possible to account for, except by the exotic growth which characterizes all Keats' development. The time was short and the work of a life-time was gathered into those two or three years. What the next stage would have been we can hardly surmise, so perfect are these latter poems. It is, as Professor Palgrave observes, "difficult to imagine how any experience could have improved them." It is a wonderful volume, perhaps unique, when the youth of the poet, and the handicapping influences of illness, weakness, and disappointment are taken into account. Doubtless these last had their share in maturing his character, as they are, probably, in part responsible for the distinctly different tone which pervades this book. Although the chief characteristic, the passion for Beauty, remains, yet there is something in the earlier poems which is missing here. The free-hearted and almost child-like happiness in Nature has vanished, and is replaced by a worship, not less intense, but deeply tinged with sadness. The spirit of Beauty is everywhere, but it is the Beauty that must die, all the dearer and lovelier that it has here no abiding place, and passes with the passing of a day. The deeper consciousness of Beauty and the more intimate communion with Nature did not fill Keats' heart with the calm and hope which inspired Wordsworth, but seemed rather to impress upon him the apparently irreconcilable discord existing between the outward manifestations of Nature's loveliness, and the suffering and mystery of human life. The spirit of peaceful hope which breathes from Wordsworth's "Lines on Tintern Abbey," and which seldom failed him throughout his long life, was not for Keats. Perhaps never once did Keats attain to

"that blessed mood  
In which the burthen and the mystery  
In which the heavy and the weary weight  
Of all this unintelligible world  
Is lightened . . . . .  
While with an eye made quiet by the power  
Of harmony and the deep power of joy  
We see into the heart of things."

In Keats' happiest mood there is always some trace of "the weariness, the fever, and the fret," which prevents his rising into the calm region of Wordsworth's faith. There was much natur-

ally to account for this. No doubt the ever-present consciousness of disease and impending death, acted strongly on the physical nature and reacted on the spiritual. His temperament, far intenser and more delicately sensitive than that of Wordsworth, was more prone to the extremes of feeling, and their consequent reaction, and was also more keenly responsive to the agitation and dissatisfaction which was still everywhere in the air around him.

But there was far more than this. A struggle was taking place in Keats' mind, to understand which we must go back once more to his earlier poems. No one of the English poets was so truly Greek in his attitude towards Nature. As Shelley remarked of him, "*he was a Greek*," and this in a sense beyond that intended by Shelley, who probably alluded especially to that simplicity, directness, and spontaneity which are found in Keats' poetical work, and which, together with his passion for Beauty, are characteristic of the great poets of Greece. He was also Greek in his conception and interpretation of Nature, and hence the conflict which arose in his mind. He seems to have intuitively accepted the sensuous manifestation of Beauty as the revelation of the Spiritual, not perhaps consciously, but rather with an unquestioning faith in the harmony which existed between them. But this was an attitude impossible to maintain in the nineteenth century, even for one like Keats, whose tone of thought was, as his poetry seems to show, but little affected by the dogmas of revealed Christianity. In the early period of Greek thought, when men believed that it was by external manifestation mainly that the Divine was revealed, and when consequently, every element of Beauty had something of the Godhead, and was, as such, to be worshipped: when the production of beautiful forms was a witness to Divine Beauty, and almost an act of religious worship, there was little or no contradiction in the union of sense and spirit. The Beautiful was the manifold manifestation of the Godhead, and Religion was the Worship of the Beautiful. It is not probable that Keats would have formulated his views into anything so definite as this, and yet his early work produces on us the impression that he wrote under such an inspiration as worked in the poets of early Greece. But the whole tone of thought of Keats' day was antagonistic to



such a conception, at any rate, in the sense that the Greek mind would apprehend. It was lost in the new Revelation, where Suffering, and not Beauty, was the sign and manifestation of the Deity; in the centuries of struggle between the ascetic and the æsthetic principles; in the consciousness which grew up with this new Revelation that man does not live under the overwhelming force of Fate, or Necessity, the great power which overcame even the gods, and by its iron rule relieved man to a large extent of individual responsibility; and in the belief arising from this consciousness, that man's fate is within him, and lies largely in his own control. It would be no difficult task to trace the gradual awakening of Keats' mind to this consciousness, and the ever-deepening note of sadness in his writings. Henceforth

"In the very temple of Delight  
Veiled Melancholy had her sovran shrine."

That this, too, was a transition period we may well believe, and that if Keats had lived longer, the sadness of his later work would have given place to a more hopeful and restful spirit. It was painful, as periods of change are apt to be, but his sadness is the sadness of a mind that is working its way to a more perfect knowledge, and is one of the few signs of immaturity still remaining in a genius that was fast approaching full development.

But though Keats was thus early met by the sense of pain and disappointment just where it was most keenly felt, he did not on that account falter in his life-long search. Nor was he without his reward. As regards himself this lay, we think, chiefly in a deeper sensitiveness to all loveliness, in a larger apprehension of true Beauty, and in increased power of utterance. For us, who are his inheritors, it lay in all those added gifts of passion, expression, melody, and pathos which have left him unsurpassed among English Lyric Poets, and in a certain directness and spontaneity which arise in great measure from the simplicity and singleness of his aim. In these things lie his pre-eminent excellence: his limitations—the limitations of youth and inexperience—lie on the side of his knowledge of life, and his power of dealing with it. He cannot sing

"Of truth, of grandeur, beauty, love and hope  
And melancholy fear subdued by faith,

Of blessed consolations in distress  
Of moral strength and intellectual power,  
Of joy in widest commonalty spread."

His note is more subjective. Not indeed in the sense that Mrs. Browning's poetry is subjective, where the personality of the writer can never be lost sight of, for the absorption of Keats in his subject effectually prevents this, but in the sense that it appeals to the individual rather than the universal consciousness, and becomes the expression of individual thought. Thus far it may be admitted that the tendency of Keats' poetry is subjective, and it would be impossible to wish it otherwise, when we consider what such poems as the "Ode to the Nightingale," the "Drear Nighted December," and others would be, without this quality. But here is not the place for critical analysis of Keats' poetry, nor is it after all, by literary excellencies mainly that Keats holds his place in the hearts of those who love him best, as they well know. It is rather by the force of a special magic which lies in his later poems, and which is as irresistible as the voice of his nightingale. No one who has once come under the spell of his verse can fail to acknowledge this, or would relinquish it for any purely literary merit. It draws us back to his pages again and again, and to those who feel its power it appeals more strongly than any other quality can do. It is hard to choose, but perhaps the little poem (published after his death) of "Happy Insensibility," is an example as perfect as any of this "strange and ineffable beauty."

In a drear-nighted December,  
Too happy, happy tree  
Thy branches ne'er remember  
Their green felicity.  
The north cannot undo them,  
With a sleety whistle through them,  
Nor frozen thawings glue them  
From budding at the prime.

In a drear-nighted December,  
Too happy, happy brook  
Thy bubblings ne'er remember  
Apollo's summer look.

But with a sweet forgetting,  
They stay their crystal fretting,  
Never, never petting,  
About the frozen time.

Ah ! would 'twere so with many  
A gentle girl and boy,  
But were there ever any  
Writhed not at passed joy ?  
To know the change and feel it,  
When there is none to heal it,  
Nor numbed sense to steal it,  
Was never said in rhyme.

Though this quality is found, more or less, in all true poetry, it is possessed by scarcely any, we think, to the same degree as by Keats, a certain haunting power which lays strong hold on the imagination and lingers long in the mind. It abounds in Heine, who, much as he differed from Keats in most respects, yet had this in common with him, as those who are familiar with his poetry in the original German can testify.

All this and more Keats gained as the reward of his eager and passionate devotion to Beauty, but in the main result of his search was he met by disappointment ? We think not. If the early visions were not realized, it was because with advancing knowledge they changed their character, and were replaced by a fuller insight. If he failed to find in external beauty all that he looked for in his earliest youth, his unwearied search was rewarded by a far more extended manifestation. What if it were too late a day to look for the visible revelation of the Deity in his creation, too late for the time

“ When holy were the haunted forest boughs,  
Holy the air, the water and the fire ; ”

yet not for this had these things lost their charm, or beauty its significance. The revelation was still there, and in the added light of truth, the Beautiful was more than ever worthy to be loved and sought after. Of Keats' early unconscious belief, this much remained, that Beauty was inseparably bound up with all that was highest, and existed in countless ways apart from its

outward manifestation, often, even, where this was lacking to the outward eye. When Keats wrote

“A thing of Beauty is a joy for ever ;  
Its loveliness increases, it will never  
Pass into nothingness, but still will keep  
A bower quiet for us, and a sleep

Full of sweet dreams, and health, and quiet breathing ; ”  
he was interpreting beauty, it is true, but he had not gained that full insight which was his when he wrote

“Beauty is truth, truth Beauty, that is all  
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.”

In his later creed, Beauty and Truth were synonymous terms, and all truth was necessarily beautiful. This view not only enhanced the meaning of Beauty, but widened its scope, so that it embraced far more than belonged to Keats' first view of it. And if, as was the case, the added knowledge failed to bring with it the peace and comfort which he desired, if he touched the higher note with an uncertain hand, and struggled with a deep sense of melancholy, it must be remembered that he died at an age when most men have scarcely begun to look for the answer to the riddle of life, far less to solve it. That he had obtained so much of the “more thoughtful and quiet power” to which he aspired is one more proof of the astonishing development of his genius. Which of our other poets at his age, could have shown more, or so much? In this, he is, as Leigh Hunt says in his letter to Severn on Keats' approaching death, “as far before them as in everything else.”

LOIS SAUNDERS.

## THE GODS OF GREECE.

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THE discussion of such a subject within the limits here necessary can be only of the nature of a pencil sketch. The huge tomes that committed themselves to precipitous generalisations and interpreted the mythology of the Greeks from some single point of view, the historical, the allegorical, the psychological, the scientific, the ethical, or the symbolic have lost their value, and the authorities of a few years ago have, under recent developments, become completely antiquated. This remark holds good even of the "Greek Mythology" of Welcker, the greatest German authority on the subject, whose latest edition gives us still the stand-point of twenty years ago. We are now in the transition stage, where the older views have become obsolete, while the new views have not yet been formulated.

Few have considered the fact that mythology has so many sides, that no single key can furnish an explanation of all myths which reflect religious thought. Comparative Philology, an enlarged view of Ancient History, and the study of Folk-lore have each from their different fields of inquiry, rendered help in the explanation of mythological problems. In the solution of these problems, help is afforded from other quarters also, but from the youth of these new sciences, the help is often rather of the nature of promise than of assured results. The consideration that in the investigation of ancient forms of religion we are still in the stage of discovery, accounts for the small number of standard authorities in this field of investigation. The time, in fact, for writing a complete and satisfactory history of the Greek religion has not yet arrived. Such a history would involve large and accurate knowledge of the earlier civilizations of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria, in addition to that of the Aryan nations, a thorough knowledge of the Science of Language and a competent acquaintance with the new and interesting study of the Science of Comparative Religion. To wait for complete equipment is, however, vain. The universal scholar no longer exists. No one can claim acquaintance with the *omne scibile*. All we can do is each in the

measure of his ability, to bring his contribution to the general good, by cultivating industriously his own field of study, and from this "coign of vantage" to throw some rays of light into the prevailing obscurity. The process is a useful, even necessary one, to take stock occasionally of the discoveries that have been made, and to sum up, from time to time, the gains that have been won, even though the outlines drawn give but a very imperfect idea of the progress made.

Much light has been thrown upon the origins of Greek Religion, by a more extensive knowledge of Aryan history. It is a scientific certainty, proved by comparative philology, that the nations of Europe are connected by ties of language and of blood with the nations of India and Persia. The inheritance of a common vocabulary affords us an insight into the conditions, mode of life, and religious ideas of the Aryan race, while by the key of comparative philology, we are enabled to understand their mythology, and to bring this knowledge to bear on the elucidation of the mythology of the Greeks.

Nearly as much light has been thrown on the character of the Gods of Greece by the new developments in Semitic history. "The origin of religion, of art, of the entire culture of the classical nations, long studied without any regard taken of "the Barbarians," assumes a totally different aspect, as soon as one considers these nations in the light of the older civilizations of Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria. Asia Minor and Phœnicia have transmitted to the Greeks almost all the Asiatic elements of that culture, whence has issued the civilization of Greece and Rome and, through their mediation, that of the modern world."\*

Thus is illustrated the teaching of the Ephesian Heraclitus, *πάντα ῥεῖ*—nought perishes, all things change—the first clear note in classical times of the doctrine of evolution.

The mythology of the Semitic nations, less rich assuredly than that of the Aryan nations, displaying the monotony of the Mesopotamian desert in contrast with the sublimity and variety of nature in Greece, is one of those studies without which we cannot thoroughly comprehend the historical development of the nations of the West. Obscure points we must expect to be

\*Soury, *Etudes Historiques*, p. vij.

cleared up only by a fuller study of the earlier history of the Aryan nations, on the one hand, and on the other, by a more thorough acquaintance with the Semitic civilizations. The Greeks who have civilized us, owed their civilization to Phœnicia, Assyria and Egypt. There is no doubt a great gulf between the colossal but formless monuments of Asiatic art, and the grand idealistic art of the Greeks, if we can at all compare either the art of Asia, which was inspired by no general ideas, with the spirit of unity and beauty that manifested itself in Greek architecture and sculpture, or the childish and grotesque cosmogonies of the Assyrian cuneiform literature with the order and scientific conception of the world of a Democritus or of an Aristotle. But, notwithstanding the disparity between the art productions of Asia and Greece, the fact stands clear and undeniable that the works of Greek genius and all the later progress of Western civilization received their first impulse from the Semitic races. It was from the Semitic races that the Greeks learnt to read, to write, to count, to measure, and to make astronomical observations. The civilizations of Egypt and Babylonia, had triumphed over these elementary stages in culture long before, and had an advantage of thousands of years over Greece in the rise of their civilization.

Accordingly it is always to these older civilizations of the East that we must go back, when the religions of Greece and Rome display un-Aryan features. In order to comprehend what is, we must know also what has been. We must, therefore, in a study of this kind, when any difficulty presents itself, fall back upon the historical method, and employ it rigidly when all other helps fail us. Every science worthy of the name is at bottom only a study of historic order. There is in the world of ideas, as well as in the world of nature, such a continuity, such a succession of facts, that while ardent admirers of Greece and her genius claim that all that is grand and beautiful in Greek civilization originated with the Greeks themselves, without external suggestion, as Pallas Athene leaped full-armed from the brain of Zeus, we feel compelled with our conception of history to deny the claim as an exaggeration, and as contrary to the whole course of civilization and nature, which advance step by step only, in orderly succession, and in accordance with the idea of a gradual development. The

torch of knowledge that Greece passed on to Rome she took from the hand of the expiring Semitic civilizations.

Greek literature is relatively so late, even modern, that the oldest poets of Greece had already no knowledge of the origin and true meaning of the myths of their religion. It was this feeling of their youth as a people, in comparison with the neighbouring nations of an older world, that impelled so many of their philosophers, poets and historians to travel to the far East and to Egypt. "Ye Greeks," said an Egyptian priest to Herodotus, "are but children of yesterday as compared with us."\* From the origin of the Greeks as an Aryan race, and from their geographical position which brought them into relation with Asiatic nations, we may divide the Gods of Greece into two groups—(1) an Indo-European group, (2) a group derived from the Asiatic religions.

At first, when the Greeks separated from the great Aryan stock, their religious notions bore the common features of the undivided race. Their deities were nature gods, that is, deifications of the phenomena or powers of nature. Thus the name Zeus did not in the earliest Greek period denote a personal god, but, like the cognate Sanscrit Dyaus, the vault of heaven, "the sky." This connection with nature is always clearly traceable in the Vedic religion, and in later times in Greece is retained in such phrases as *Ζεὺς ὕει* "the sky rains." A feature to be noticed in the list of the earlier Greek deities is that, as in India, the deities are almost all males. The increase of female deities is due to the influence of Semitic religions, where beside every god Baal there was a goddess Baalath, the pale reflexion of the male deity. We may suspect therefore in the case of female deities, when we trace back their origin, that the most of them do not belong to the primitive inheritance of the Greek race, but are later accessions coming in by way of the Islands under Phœnician sway, or by way of Asia Minor, where Greek civilization first arose. From Asia Minor original and borrowed elements of worship were at a later period adopted by the ruder inhabitants of Hellas Proper.

The earliest stage in Greek religion is that of the Pelasgian Zeus. Frequent references are made in Greek history to the old Pelasgoi. They are not a race ethnologically different from the

\*Perrot and Chipiez, *Egyptian Art*, Vol. I., p.



Greeks, but the first wave of the Greek race, who entered the mainland from the north. They are represented as worshipping the God of heaven on the mountain tops, without images, and under no special name. The inference, however, that their conception of the deity was purer than that of later times is an erroneous one. The absence of an image or special name, together with the selection of sacred elevations, implies that the deity is still a nature-god without the clear personality that attaches to the later gods. As yet the gods were not humanized, that is, represented in human form.\* The character of the Pelasgic Zeus,

\*Tiele, *Outlines of the History of Religion*, p. 203.

as he is described by Greek writers on religion, passes before us as a vague, inconsistent and formless being. There is no firmness in his outlines, no clear appeal to the senses. Nothing that recalls the life and personality of the Homeric gods. "He resembles rather those gods of the infancy of the Aryan race, those unsubstantial and cloud-like gods of the Vedas, wherein Varuna, Indra, Agni, are so often confounded with each other, and where the god that is invoked, whether Indra, Savitri or Rudra is for the time being the highest and mightiest of the gods."\* We might

\*Soury, *Etudes Historiques*, p. 66.

compare still further the Pelasgic Zeus with the Greek Titans, Okeanos or Gaia, or, still better, with the abstract deities of the Romans, Fides, Virtus, Concordia, none of whom had any precise artistic form. This Pelasgian Zeus had his chief shrine at Dodona in Epirus, where, under the whispering oak, his oracle was consulted. The rude character of this early stage of Greek religion is proved by the practice of human sacrifice and its unorganized character by the absence of any cult or ritual of worship.

To this first stage there succeeded as the second the worship of the Lycian Apollo.

This worship originated in Asia Minor among the Greek colonists, and was the result of the blending of Aryan and Semitic ideas. Here it was that from the contact of the Greeks with Asiatic culture that brilliant civilization arose, which later was carried across the Ægean to the mainland, and gave rise to that Mycenæan culture which is reflected in the Epic verse of Homer. The more advanced state at which the Asiatic nations had ar-

rived is illustrated by the greater refinement of the Dardanian heroes and the superior authority of the gods that favored Troy, in contrast with the heroes and gods of the Achæan host.

This difference in the tone of the opposing forces is a correct representation of the fact that there was a difference in the civilization of Greece and Asia Minor, and that the Asiatics stood upon a higher level. The contrast does not amount to an essential difference, but bears witness to the slower advance made by the children of Hellas as compared with the ethnically related races of Lycia, Lydia and Mysia. The substantial identity in religion and race-qualities between the Greeks of Hellas and those of the Asiatic coast, is a proof of the vigor and originality of the Hellenic genius. Brought face to face with the elements of a civilization so new and imposing, the Greeks appropriated all they thought valuable in them, and shaped them into new forms, harmonious with their own character.

This higher step was taken by the Lycians, "the children of the light," kinsmen and instructors of the Greeks of Hellas. Among them originated the noble character of the Lycian Apollo, god of life and the far darting rays, son and revealer of the most high Zeus. In him we find the traces of nature worship very faint, and the idealized human or divine nature elevated almost to the height of Monotheism.

This higher form of religion and culture made its way into Hellas both through settlements of Phenicians and through increased intercourse between the kinsmen occupying both sides of the Ægæan. The Homeric poems exhibit this stage, wherein the Achæans are the dominant race, before the Dorians gained the supremacy. In Homer the gods are no longer the half-conscious forces of nature. They have the qualities of men, but with vastly larger power. They are subject to pain and grief; they require the sustenance of food and drink, but these were of a kind to confer on them immortality. The difference between gods and men is indicated in very many ways, but one feature that is noteworthy is the presence in their veins of no mere human blood, but of a divine fluid, the sacred *ichor* (*ἰχὼρ*), peculiar to gods alone. The fact that the divine assembly of all the gods, the counterpart of the earthly *ἀγορά*, has as its object the determination of a fixed order of events on earth, shows that the earlier conception of the

gods as nature-powers, coming into violent collision with each other, has passed away, and that in Homer's day there prevailed the higher conception of them as personalities, with moral liberty, and each with a definite character of his own, but all combining for a moral purpose—the orderly government of the world.

**This** second stage of Greek religion may be called that of the **Homeric period**, of Semitic influence or of Mycenæan civilization. In it the worship of Apollo was most prominent. Apollo-worship should not be considered as supplanting that of Zeus, but as a higher stage in that worship, for Apollo but revealed the will of Zeus. Through the predominance of Apollo worship bounds were set to Polytheism, and the ethical took the place of the physical. It was in this period that the Greek religion reached its highest point, and its characteristic features were the emphasis laid on truth and self-control, on a steady balance between the sensible and the spiritual, and on moral earnestness combined with an open eye for the happiness and beauty of life.\*

As the first period in Greek religion was marked by the worship of Pelasgian Zeus, while the second was connected with the predominance of Apollo-worship, so the third and last stage was that of the Olympic Zeus, in which the Dorian influence was strongest. The truly Hellenic worship was, however, that of Apollo, and it is to be identified with the highest attainments of the Greek race in historic achievement, art and literature. Historically we can prove in this phase of Greek religion the combined influences of the Aryan and Semitic genius, though the philological identity of Apollo with the Semitic Bel or Baal is far from meeting with general acceptance.

In the names of some of the Greek gods and heroes we can clearly trace their Aryan origin, while in others, either in name or character, we can with equal clearness infer an Asiatic origin. Athene, for instance, the guardian deity of Athens, the patroness of its art and literature, is in her origin a purely Indo-European conception, and her identification with the Sanscrit Ahanâ, the Dawn, born at the meeting point of night and day, has given rise to the legend of her conception from the brain of Zeus—in other words from the beginning of his power. Hermes, again, the messenger of the gods, is of purely Indo-European origin. He

\*Tiele, *Outlines of the History of Religion*, p. 218.

represents the swift hounds of the sky, the Vedic Sârameyas, the winds that move restlessly to and fro, that follow the clouds—the cows that distil rain upon the earth. Hence, in Greek mythology he is said to keep guard over the shades, he steals Apollo's oxen, that is, the winds clear the clouds from the sky, while his swift-footedness carries him like a bird of prey over sea and land. In all these representations of him, his physical origin is clearly traceable, as an Indo-European conception, and he is fully identified with the Vedic Sârameyas. And to select one example more, the Indo-European character of the Prometheus myth is clearly revealed, when we carry back the name to its earlier philological form. The name is identical with the Sanscrit pramanthâ, the *fire drill*. Hence we see the important place, in the myth, of the theft of the heavenly fire. As Agni, *fire*, was in Vedic poetry personified and represented as the giver of all blessings to mankind, so, by another branch of the race the instrument by which fire is produced was personified, though not advanced to the same religious altitude by the saner Greek mind. The spirit of the myth as it grew from the central episode of the fire stolen from the sky is worked out in a manner wholly alien to the Semitic mythology, which often betrays in details a sensuality and uncouthness that enable us readily to distinguish what is truly Hellenic from what is foreign and borrowed.

Perhaps half the Greek deities are of foreign origin. This origin is certain as regards the worship of Adonis. The chaste Artemis, in her character as virgin-goddess is probably a Greek creation. Her Phrygian name, Artamas, which is explained from the Persian areta "perfect," indicates at least an Indo-European origin. But the blood-thirsty and sensual Artemis of Tauris, and the many-breasted Artemis of Ephesus, served by thousands of consecrated prostitutes, was felt even by the Greeks themselves as a contrast that could not be reconciled in any other way than by the fusion of native and foreign elements. The myth of Persephone, again, carried into the under world, is non-Hellenic. The conception of an under world comes from the Semitic race. It is the Sheol or hell of the earlier Eastern religions. The truly Hellenic conception of the world of the dead, was not that of a world of shadows within the bosom of the earth, deprived of light and consciousness, but rather the Indo-European conception of a

home in the West, beyond the ocean stream, at the setting of the sun, in the isles of the blest, in Elysian fields more beautiful than the fruitful oases of the Egyptian Ialu. Greek theology possessed both these representations of the world of the dead, one native the other foreign, ideas which the Greeks could not combine, and which account for the inconsistent representation given by Greek writers of the life after death. But the foreign origin of much of Greek myth and religion, (such as the myth of the sons and daughters of Egyptus and Danaus, betraying an early connection of the Greeks with Egypt and that of Perseus rescuing Andromeda on the coast of Phenicia) is most clearly brought out by the worship of Aphrodite. That the Greeks had a goddess of beauty of their own corresponding to the Roman *Venus*, who is in origin an agricultural goddess of spring, beauty and love, is very probable. Her place was in prehistoric times taken by a foreign creation. Aphrodite, whose name is identical with the Semitic Astarte, Ashtoreth and Istar, is certainly the Phenician goddess of Cyprus and Cythera, who passed thence northwards into Greece, bringing with her the mythical forms of Kinyras, Adonis and Pygmalion. The fact that her worship was celebrated most enthusiastically at points on the coast, which were for ages the centres of Phenician navigation and trade, such as Paphos in Cyprus, Idalium in Crete, Eryx in Sicily, Carthage and Cadiz, indicates the Semitic origin of this goddess, and that her worship was foreign in its character. On passing into Greece, however, much of the grossness of her original character as a nature goddess passed away, and the myths connected with her name were touched into beauty by the poetic imagination of the Greek genius.

These illustrations of the light to be thrown on the myths and religious conceptions of the Greek by a cross-fire from Oriental History, Indo-European Philology and the science of religions, are but a few of a large number that present themselves. "In a truly scientific study of mythology it is necessary to distinguish far more than is usually done between the original substance of a mythological creation, and its later development in literature, in plastic art, or in the popular theology."\*

\*De La Saussaye, *Science of Religion*, p. 225.

In conclusion, a glance at the geographical position of Greece shows that it was destined by nature to be the meeting point of East and West, the bridge by which the culture of the Orient should pass over into the Occident. It was well that the fusion was made by the most highly gifted of the Indo-European stock. As Greece lay nearest to those older races it would feel to a greater degree than remoter lands the shock of surprise, the thrill of novelty and admiration that this sensitive and highly gifted race must have felt when the Hellenic tribes emerging from the darkness of prehistoric times poured into Greece and Asia Minor, and were brought face to face with the colossal grandeur of the earlier world-empires. It was this cross-fertilization of Hellenic with Semitic ideas that combined to bring about the perfect flower of Greek culture. But the wealth and elevation of this development are due, not merely to the opportunities afforded by increased intercourse or the nature of their country, or the fusion of races that necessarily took place, but also to the fact to which we must always come back that the Greeks as a people were endowed with splendid natural gifts, which enabled them while borrowing foreign ideas, at the same time to assimilate and ennoble them.

A. B. NICHOLSON.

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A SONNET OF PETRARCH.

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What maid is she that seeks the noble praise  
Of wisdom, strength, and stately courtesy?  
Let her upon that lady fix her gaze,  
The world calls mine, my gentle enemy.  
Mark here how love to God and honour grow,  
How dignity goes hand in hand with grace,  
Here learn the path to that far Heaven to trace,  
Which seals her for its own while here below.  
The language lovelier far than mortal speech  
The silence yet more lovely, the pure ways  
Unspeakable, undreamed of human heart;  
These thou may'st learn, but there is none can teach  
The infinite beauty, dazzling with its rays,  
For this is God's rich gift, nor comes by art.

LOIS SAUNDERS

## CLASSICAL NOTES.

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### ROME'S GREATNESS—CÆSAR'S CHARACTER—LUCRETIVS.

THERE are perhaps some questions to which modern culture naturally looks for an answer to the special students of the classics. The traditions of the older universities, supported by the results of more recent historical research, seem almost to have succeeded in winning recognition to the fact that the language, the institutions and the religion of Rome form in quite a peculiar way not only the foundation, but also a large part of the superstructure of western civilization. A nation, whose history has affected so fundamentally the history of two continents, must, it is at once assumed, have been great. The modern world is not inclined to follow the Horatian precept of *nil admirari*, on the contrary it is inclined to admire greatness sometimes so excessively that admiration becomes worship. At any rate greatness excites curiosity to the utmost. Hence has arisen the question what was the cause of Roman greatness? How was Rome enabled, first to conquer, then to govern the world and that in such a masterful spirit, as to compel succeeding ages to adopt her language, her laws and her religion? The following suggestions are offered not as an answer to the question, but as a contribution to a question which is still a moot one even with classical scholars. One of the oldest and weightiest words in the vocabulary of European civilization is the word *empire*. Both the word and its great meaning are of Roman origin. Its origin, like the origin of the Roman state, is lost in the darkness of antiquity. When Rome first comes into the view of history, she is a fully developed state: the *imperium* is wielded by one man: it is conferred upon him by an assembly of freemen. It is the application to the state of the principle of the *patria potestas*. In the *imperium* lay in an undeveloped state the supremacy of Latium, the conquest of Samnium, the overthrow of Carthage, the subjugation of Macedonia and Lyria, the *empire of the world*. Anyone, then, who can trace the origin of the *Lex curiata de imperio* will have contributed much to the answer of the question as

to the cause of Roman greatness. For manifestly the growth of Rome from the beginning of her authentic history is but the application of the principle of *imperium* to special circumstances as they rose: what the Romans themselves explained by calling it the *Fortuna urbis* guided by divine Providence. From another point of view it is an instance of the "survival of the fittest" in the wide field of human progress.

Another and closely allied question, which may almost be called popular, since the publication of Froude's brilliant sketch, is the question as to the character and aims of Julius Cæsar. Was Cæsar the most perfect man and greatest statesman that the world has seen, according to the view which has been taught with increasing conviction, since the time that Dr. Mommsen's great History of Rome became, with a bound, the text-book on Roman history in every University? It is much easier to question Mommsen's views on any matter relating to Rome than to prove them wrong. It is an easy matter to say that Froude and Mommsen are worshippers of the "Bismarkian" theory of government and advocates of a policy of force. It is almost impossible for an Englishman to have any faith in a "Cæsar." And it has perhaps been a little unfortunate for the character of the first Emperor of Rome that the word "Cæsarism" has received so many sinister additions to its meaning in quite recent times. How, the Englishman asks, can the man who overthrew a free government and established on its ruins a military despotism, have been the great man, that Mommsen represents Cæsar to have been? But this question of the triumphant constitutionalist seems to assume three positions which are by no means self-evident. It seems to assume that the first century B.C. was similar to the nineteenth century A.D., that the government of the Roman Republic was free government which it was possible to reform, that the government established by Cæsar was a military despotism. The following questions may help to clear up the question of Cæsar's work and character. In what condition did the death of Alexander the Great leave the Eastern world? What was the character of the senatorial rule of the Republic during the century 150-50? What sort of a government did Cæsar really establish? In what condition was the Roman world left by his assassination? Whence did Augustus, the great



and patient organizer, derive his ideas of government? What was the condition of the Roman world (*not the Roman city*) during the first two centuries of the Christian era, as compared with the condition of the Roman world during the two preceding centuries? Is it a fair deduction, after a careful consideration of the foregoing questions, to say that Julius Cæsar's work "saved" not society merely, but civilisation, that he divined with statesman-like instinct the only course which the history of progress could take and started the world upon that course, in other words, that he is the founder of modern civilisation and so the world's greatest statesman? Nineteen centuries have given much additional experience in the difficult art of governing great empires. And it may be asserted without fear of successful contradiction that the government of the *Imperium Romanum* under the forms of the city government of Rome had in the last century B.C. become an impossibility. If that is the case, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that Imperialism was the only alternative to premature barbarism; Cæsar saw clearly the condition of the world and applied the only possible remedy. It is a curious trait in Cæsar's character, if what Cicero tells of him be true (*pro Marcello c. 8*), that after the battle of Thapsus, he had heard Cæsar say: *Satis diu vel naturæ vixi vel gloriæ*, I have lived long enough. Cæsar was then fifty-four years old. The question of the establishment of the Roman Empire is not without interest to the British Empire. Roman history and English history present numerous points of resemblance. Rome and England have been the two great organizing and governing powers in European history. They have each had pre-eminent success in the experiments each has had to make in the practical art of government. If any form of Imperial Federation is brought about, then the two great Empires will present another point of resemblance. The problem of Imperial Federation is to find an *Imperium* which will avoid the rocks on which ultimately the *Imperium Romanum* went to pieces.

How did it happen that the most earnest and passionate poet of Rome adopted the shallowest of all the forms of practical philosophy presented in the decay of paganism to the Græco-Roman world as the guide of life and the interpretation of the infinite? To a greater extent than any other poet of antiquity the genius of Lucretius is impelled onwards by that combination

of intellectual force and emotional energy which the Greeks called *ἐνθουσιασμός*—enthusiasm, i.e., divine possession. In his own forcible language this power is called *vivida vis animi*, the living power of the soul. Lucretius is seen at his best in those long poetic outbursts of cumulative power in which these two forces—reason and emotion—appear to struggle for the mastery. The text of Lucretius is to be found in that magnificent line (I. 101)

*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*

The weight of all the miseries of “this unintelligible world” is *tantum*. And Lucretius offers to the world as his panacea of its sufferings what?—Epicureanism. It is one of the greatest enigmas in literature. But the creed of Lucretius is not the Horatian “*carpe diem*”: but rather, (III. 971)

*Vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu,*

which reminds us of the precept that we are not our own, but are bought with a price.

The spirit of Lucretius is the spirit of the Stoic, of Savonarola, of the Puritan and Covenanter, But he preached to an unheeding world under false colours. Is there any explanation of the literary and historical problem of this first name in the long roll of those who have waged the “deathless war?” There is a tradition that the poem was composed in the intervals of madness, which reminds us of Cowper. In support of this theory—it is only such—lines like the following (III. 828,9) are adduced:

*Adde furorem animi proprium atque obliviam rerum,*

*Adde quod in nigras lethargi mergitur undas.*

But there is an insurmountable difficulty in applying personally any passage of a poet who tell us absolutely nothing of himself directly.

There is more probability in the supposition that Lucretius was a proud aristocratic Roman of the old type and of a sensitive nature (which is very curious) who beheld in the approaching doom of the great Republic the destruction of everything he held dear, and that the poem *De Rerum Natura* was his contribution to the remedy of the evils under which Rome was suffering. But the Roman world could not yet listen to a preacher of righteousness in the garb of Epicureanism. Lucretius as the rival of Cæsar is one of those improbable things which it is said, continu-

ally happen. The spectacle of a great revolution is one of appalling sadness. Lucretius and Cato commit suicide; Cæsar and Cicero are murdered. A revolution demands the noblest victims of both parties. Did Lucretius mistake the character of his age?

In one sense he did. He is the most modern of all the poets of antiquity, but he was the least popular of the Roman poets. His direct influence was almost nothing. His indirect influence was great; for he was the chief immediate power in the poetic education of Vergil, whose interpretation both of nature and of life was permeated by Lucretian views. The three greatest poets of Rome—Lucretius, Vergil, Horace—were adherents of Epicureanism. The greatest of the three in many respects was Lucretius, but the Roman world was in no mood to listen to preaching, however earnest. It required some centuries more of the experience of suffering ere mankind would listen to a doctrine of righteousness, and by that time another and a nobler faith than the Lucretian had been prepared for man's acceptance.

WILLIAM DALE.

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## BOOK REVIEWS.

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*An Introduction to the Study of the Books of the New Testament.* By John H. Kerr, A. M. Fleming H. Revell Company, Chicago and New York.

The truth of the preacher's admonition, that "of making many books there is no end," is receiving emphatic confirmation in this generation. Certainly never was the stream of literature issuing from the press so full to overflowing as it is at the present time. But the world might dispense with much of it without being any the less wise. It is quality rather than quantity that is to be desired, but we fear that the quality is in inverse proportion to the quantity. In the department of fiction this is said to be the case, and to a considerable extent the same thing is true in other departments of literary activity. It is only to the few that a new message has been given to be delivered to the race. The great majority of writers do but repeat in other forms that which has been already well said by others. They give to old truths new settings, and the new settings make them attractive.

Of course it requires a certain amount of skill and invention to do this successfully, and such as exercise these gifts may be regarded as useful teachers of the race.

Of late years there have been not a few treatises written on the introductory study of the New Testament. In addition to the larger works of Salmon, Weiss, Godet and Gloag, smaller compendiums have been published by Dods, McClymont and others among scholars in the old world. Recently there has been issued a quarto volume upon the same subject by Rev. John H. Kerr, M.A., minister of the Presbyterian Church, Rock Island, Ill. Its contents formed the substance of a series of sermons preached to his congregation and published in the Presbyterian Journal, Philadelphia. So favourable was their public reception that he resolved to enlarge and publish them in their present form. This will account for the simple and popular style in which the book is written. It is intended for lay readers and those who have not access to the larger and costlier treatises referred to. A minister would render eminent service to his congregation by discussing in a plain, untechnical way the various questions of New Testament Introduction. Besides being instructed in the meaning of the contents of the different books of the New Testament, a people, to be intelligently grounded in Scripture, ought to be acquainted with the conclusions of the best scholarship regarding the authorship, date and circumstances that gave rise to the composition of each of them. Only in this way will they be able to study the several books from the correct point of view, and see how their teaching is to be articulated into the general system of New Testament doctrine. There is scarcely anything worthy of special notice in this volume. The writer follows generally the lines laid down by conservative scholars. He holds that the last twelve verses of Mark were not written by the Evangelist, but by an unknown hand. This conclusion is supported by the best manuscripts, though the evidence of early Christian writers is against it. With Salmon he also considers the Epistle of James to be the earliest of the New Testament Collection, having been written about 45 A.D. Hebrews, he thinks, even from internal evidence to be an Epistle of Paul, a view which seems scarcely tenable, though who the author was will probably always remain a disputed question.

D. R.

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*The Religions of the World.* By G. M. Grant, D.D., LL.D., Principal, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, 12th Thousand, New Edition, Revised and Enlarged. A. and C. Black, London, 1895.

A smaller work on the same subject published in 1894, was received by the reviews and the public with such cordiality that the Messrs. Black have now issued an enlarged edition contain-

ing two new chapters, one entitled 'Israel' and the other 'Jesus.' In Principal Grant's treatment of the great religions which "stand side by side with Christianity" two points may be observed. (1) Although he has had to compress his estimate of each religion into two short chapters, he does not in being brief cease to be clear, comprehensive and picturesque. The story does not in the least degree suggest that it is an abstract or summary; it is rather a vivid and graphic sketch of the salient features. (2) A second and more important side of the work is the author's breadth and fairness of mind. "A sketch," he writes, "is attempted in the spirit that should animate an intelligent Confucianist, Hindoo, Buddhist or Mohammedan, to whom the task of describing Christianity briefly was assigned." In this spirit Dr. Grant while discussing the great non-Christian religions points out excellences, which are as yet lacking in Christianity. To the question as to what will be the religion of the future or, rather, what will be the Christianity of the future, Principal Grant rightly gives little attention, since he is dealing with things as they actually are, but he believes that Christianity in its intercourse with other religions will, while modifying them profoundly, itself become gradually a more perfect instrument for the accomplishment of the divine purpose. It is good to see that a belief in Christianity may be coupled with a genuine interest in other systems of religion. In this attitude the writer exemplifies the true critical insight, which discards nothing and always seeks for a positive value. All who are in any way interested in foreign missions will find this side of Principal Grant's book not only instructive but enlightening.

The chapter on Israel is in some respects the best in the work. When we consider the extent of the O. T. literature and the endless volumes of commentary, we are surprised at the completeness and freshness of this sketch of Jewish life and history. The author's power to reproduce the actual conditions of the epoch, with which he is dealing, is unusual and even rare. Each spiritual crisis in Israel is revealed not as a childish trouble of a primitive and undeveloped people but as calling into play the whole strength of some great religious genius. Here again is illustrated the writer's capacity to discern the positive value of a position which is not wholly his own, and on this ground the book comes as a timely corrective to the superficial view, which finds in the Old Testament little more than a collection of legends, mistakes, and outworn moral ideas. The chapter devoted to Israel is done so admirably that we are tempted to express the hope that Principal Grant may some day make it the basis of a separate work.

## CURRENT EVENTS.

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THE predominating factor, both in the East and the far East, is the vast accession which Russian power has received, through the ostentatious subserviency of France to the will of the Czar. France has fallen from her high estate. She no longer leads Europe. Worse, she has proved false to her mission as the soldier of Liberty. She no longer fights for an idea or scatters fruitful ideas on the wind. She has sold herself to the Cossack for revenge on Prussia, and—as usual in all such trading—while her soul is accepted, she gets only apples of Sodom in return. The Russian Admiral graciously took command of her fleet, as well as his own, at Kiel, thus making the great international gathering of peace and commerce the occasion for a scarcely veiled menace. It was within the right of Russia in her own interests, to forbid the cession of the Liao-tung peninsula to Japan; but the interference would have led to no ulterior dangerous consequences, had not France eagerly seconded her and found the money. That made it wisdom for Germany to unite with them, as it cost her nothing, and there was a suggestion of commercial pickings for all the partners. But what interest had France in the quarrel? A possible future extension of Tonquin into Southern China? The colony costs her so much already that any considerable extension of it would be ruinous, not to speak of the additional cost of Madagascar, which she has made off her own bat. Poor France, whether Monarchical, Imperialist or Republican, seems unable to learn the primary lessons of wisdom, in spite of her brilliant qualities. The cry of "Glory!", once raised in the Chambers, drowns every other sound. That Will o' the wisp lures her away from her duty. She follows phantoms and the object on which she has set her heart eludes her grasp. All her sacrifices are made in vain, for Russia will not quarrel with Germany.

THE evils of the alliance are seen in a lurid light, when we turn to Armenia and note the impotent struggles of Christian Europe to avenge outraged humanity, or even to arrest for a moment Moslem fanaticism in its horrid work of rapine, lust, torture and indiscriminate massacre of unarmed Christians. England had declined to join the Dreibund, and therefore Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy answered her appeals to strike in by her side, for the sake of God and man, with the well-known taunt of the politician, "what have you ever done for us, that we should play your game"? Though in this, as in many other cases, Britain's interest was also the interest of all, they declined to acknowledge any claim that was simply moral. Long ago, Bismarck declared that the solution of the Eastern question was not worth for Germany the sacrifice of one Pomeranian soldier, and that policy still holds the field at Berlin. Austria-Hungary cannot act without Germany; Russia is not going to allow—if she can help it—the creation of any more autonomous principalities between herself and Constantinople; and France, inspirer of the Crusades, leader of

mediæval chivalry, friend of Poland, our own ally in the Crimean war, has placed her sword in the hand of Russia. The shrieks and wails of Armenia elicit no response from Paris or the Provinces.

THERE is, however, a Republic, that has done more than any other country for the enslaved Christian peoples of the Turkish Empire, and from it, in this crisis, something effective was looked for. Missionaries from the United States have wrought for more than fifty years, with rare magnanimity and wisdom among those ancient nationalities, so long oppressed by the war-like Ottomans, and by means of schools, colleges, the printing press, and Christian influences of various kinds, have awakened to new life Bulgarians, Macedonians, Armenians, Druses, Maronites and other races, which, though as a rule belonging to the Greek Church, had lost their self-respect and with it the essence of Christianity. To lift these peoples up to the level of men and women, and to desert them in the hour of sorest need, was to bestow on them a questionable blessing. It is always unwise to give tastes that are to become tortures. Of course, it is answered that the wisdom of George Washington instructed Americans never to interfere with matters beyond their own Continent. That was excellent wisdom in Washington's day, but folly now, when the conditions of things have entirely changed; when no nation can stay outside the circle of international relations; when its citizens travel, trade, preach and teach everywhere, and demand protection against outrage; and when it is the interest of each nation in particular, and the common interest as well, that no power shall be allowed to violate the primary rules and obligations of civilization. The Sultan for more than a year has trampled upon the recognized rights of humanity; he has practically defied Christendom, because he believes that he can trade upon the selfish cupidities and jealousies of the Christian powers. For a great nation to stand aside coolly at such a time, and say, 'this is England's business,' is monstrous. England did, indeed, at the conclusion of the last war, undertake that the Sultan should govern Armenia justly, instead of allowing Russia to engulf the whole Province and suppress for ever, those nascent liberties which American missionaries had done so much to foster. England has struggled to fulfil her obligations, but has recognized that she is limited to two alternatives. The one is war, and that means the immediate massacre of the Armenians by the armed and warlike Moslems who surround them at every point, and then the subjugation of the country by the huge Russian iceberg. The other alternative is to act through the Sultan, who is the spiritual as well as the civil ruler of his Mohammedan subjects. That was the right way, and it was possible as long as the Sultan could be personally trusted or gave his confidence to men who could be trusted. Lord Salisbury, who has been in power for less than six months, be it remembered, now publicly declares that the Sultan and his advisers cannot be trusted. "The fish stinks at the head," as an expressive Turkish proverb puts it, and therefore its case is hopeless. Only by the co-operation of Britain and the United States could the Sultan have been brought to time. Had the Ambassadors of these two

Powers said to him, "Unless you punish the guilty Pashas, Valis and other officials, and unless you stop the outrages, we shall take the matter in hand," he would have given instant attention; and even more, the other Powers would have fallen into line and interference would not have been required. Suppose the Sultan had refused, what then? The British and American fleets could have struck Arabia from his dominions at a blow, occupied every seaport in Asia Minor, and dictated terms of settlement at Constantinople. Russia and France would have moved against England alone, but never against England and the States. But, the President in his annual message—Pilate-like—washed his hands of the whole business, and said to the European Powers, "See you to it," although he well knew what that meant. England alone really cared for the Armenians. She stuck to her task gallantly, trying to screw the other Powers up to concert pitch, and she was gradually succeeding, because moral forces do in the end prevail, when—perhaps unthinkingly—but none the less really—Mr. Cleveland struck her a blow, which has rendered her powerless in the East. No wonder the Sultan openly exults and rubs his hands. He can now work his will. Piously—for he is a devout Mohammedan—he gives all the glory to Allah. Has not God confounded his enemies, without the need of His servant striking a blow? Is it not manifestly His will that those dogs of Armenians, who have long abused his clemency and at last caused him to be insulted in his own palace, should be put to the sword, without further delay, unless they take shelter under the wing of the prophet of God, who accepts the vilest, if they repent, and gives them a place side by side with true believers? The elected Head of the United States has sealed the death warrant of the Armenians. Despite all odds, they remained Armenians and Christians for centuries, but they cannot resist arms of precision; and they must now throw themselves into the arms of Russia or accept the Koran. For their sake and for her own sake, let Great Britain reach an understanding with Russia at once.

"**S**CRATCH the Russian, and you find a Tartar," says a French proverb. It looks as if this means "Scratch the American and you find an Anglophobe." How else can we account for the extraordinary outbursts which greeted President Cleveland's hastily written and inexcusable message, recommending a Commission to determine the true divisional line between Great Britain and the semi-civilized State of Venezuela? The brilliant Academic Jingo, Senator Lodge, poked a little fun, by moving that the Commission report not later than the first of April, but everyone else was in such dead earnest that—even in spite of the paltry question at issue—we must believe Congress and President superficially sincere. Senator Call spoke of their embarrassments, in case the Commission reported in favour of the British Commission. Senator Chandler denounced "the conspiracy" of British capitalists, who were actually guilty of calling home a little of their money before it was confiscated, and then pronounced a glowing eulogy on "the Americanism" of the President. How Mr. Cleveland must writhe under the eulogy of Senator Chandler, Mr.



Finerty and the Clan-na-Gael! In the House of Representatives, not a single member had the courage to object to passing the vote for money to pay the Commission, without referring it to a committee. The Jingo, Mr. Boutelle, pleaded for so much of form, for mere decency's sake, seeing that the money was not for a pic-nic, in which case it would have been referred, but neither he nor any other member dared "object," even on the plea of decency!

WHAT does it all mean, and what is to come of it? God knows, but how can any man be sure? It seems to mean popular hatred of Britain. It means a mad fever for war, which would not be wondered at on the part of a Parisian mob, but which—on the part of English-speaking men, of their race, religion and business habits,—is almost inexplicable. It may be only a temporary paroxysm, but paroxysms weaken the constitution, and one of them will go so far that, before recovery, the nation may tumble into war. It is easier to raise than to lay the devil, and it must not be forgotten that the amount of combustible material in the States is enormous. What are we to think, when the appointed watchmen are seen applying the match and pouring on petroleum!

THE writer of the address from British to American literary men, now on its way across the Atlantic, makes those who sign it say,—“There is no anti-American feeling among Englishmen; it is impossible that there can be any anti-English feeling among Americans!” Once when Nelson's attention was directed to the Admiral's signal of recall, he put the telescope to his blind eye, and answering “I do not see it”—sailed on to victory. Is the authors' address a *ruse* of the same kind, in part at least a wise refusal to look facts in the face? I am somewhat doubtful as to its wisdom. Burns says that

“Facts are chiels that winna ding  
And daurna be disputed;”

and in this case, the facts are so notorious, that the American authors may feel that they are being treated like children. “It is impossible,” say the Englishmen. Yes, according to the witty Frenchman's use of the word, that “it is the impossible which is always certain to happen.” American anti-English feeling is so certain and all but universal that it must be reckoned with. How to deal with it in the wisest way is a grave question, but to assert that it is not there is a little like the old folly of crying “Peace, peace, when there is no peace.” The roots of it are there, too, and till these are eradicated, the bitter fruit will not cease to be borne. The text-books in many of the States are still so full of rancour and lies that the children grow up to hate Britain. The fourth of July orator still waves “a bloody shirt” a century and a quarter old. Millions of poor Irish crossed the ocean, with bitter hate in their hearts, and they attribute their prosperity not to the illimitable resources of a virgin continent, but to their freedom from the rule of “the base, bloody, brutal Saxon,” quite oblivious of the fact that the Saxon rules the United States, save where he is hounded.

by Tammany rings. They have the literary knack, too, and take to newspaper writing as ducks to water. Millions more, from other European countries identify monarchy with the conscription and poverty. Again, Englishmen who travel do not, as a rule, commend themselves to other nationalities. Indeed, John Bull, even when admitted to be just and truthful, is not popular anywhere. The American University graduate, too, dislikes the English gentleman, partly because the tone and culture of the latter is felt to be superior, partly because he thinks there is about him something of an assumption of superiority, which Mr. Cleveland probably detected in Lord Salisbury's reply to Mr. Olney, and which evidently roused him into irascibility, a temper far from conducive to calm writing. Then, we must consider the intense localism of American newspapers and the parochialism they engender in the average man; the bumptiousness arising from the sense of boundless resources possessed; the keenness of the national spirit and the craving for excitement and success; the continual appeals to the crowd from the stump and the ever-recurring mad chase of rival parties for votes; the delight in winning a point by "bluff;" the envy of England, because of her marvellous wealth and commercial development; the anger of manufacturers at her success as a competitor in their own markets, in spite of protective tariffs; the idea that a war means high prices for agricultural produce, because it was so in their last war, when the conditions were totally different; and various other causes, which combine to so drown for a time reason and religion that the people as a whole seem to an outsider to have gone mad. Now, how shall these roots of bitterness be eradicated? Clearly, not by another war. Therefore there must not be war. At any rate, no provocation must come from our side. Canada must appear before the court of humanity with absolutely clean hands. For those who are tempted to despair it may be noted, that the chief causes of the anti-English spirit are losing much of the old virulence; that time is the true healer; that the appointment of the Commission, though an act of hostility and insolence, gives a season for calm consideration, as Congress is thereby pledged to wait for a full report; that, at bottom, Mr. Cleveland is a candid and truth-loving man; and that, though, unwittingly he has sacrificed Armenia in his mad haste, he has no desire to sacrifice civilization, or to mortgage the future of the Republic with intolerable burdens of repudiation and insolvency which would make his name a reproach for ever.

**N**EVER did Canada more need a united and strong Government. Never has it had one so divided and weak. It tries to make up for the quality by adding to the number of the Cabinet, but what salvation to be found in Colonel Prior? Contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, it has spread the agony of a few bye-elections over December and January, that bands of corrupt agents might have every opportunity of bedeviling the electorate in detail and preventing Parliament from knowing what is the real mind of the people on the one question for which a sixth session has been called. In 1891 Sir John A. Macdonald ordered a general election, on the ground that a Par-

liament which had sat for four sessions was "moribund," and that his Government therefore had not the moral power to negotiate, with authority, for Reciprocity with the States. But now, a Parliament, elected on the lists of 1888, is considered to have in 1896 all the moral power needed to make a startling innovation on Constitutional practice, without a mandate from the people, and against a practically unanimous Province, which not only protests upon the merits of the case and on the ground that there has been no impartial investigation, but which declares of its own motion its desire to remedy every grievance both by amending the law from time to time and by administration, thus proving its preparedness for compromise and conciliation! Even a moribund Parliament may surely be trusted to do its duty in such a case. The Manitoba Government now admits that Parliament may interfere in a case of urgent necessity. Let the exact amount of the necessity then be first proved by a joint-commission.

THE terrible lengths to which partyism will drive honourable men has been shown in the recent bye-elections, though only a little is known of the iniquities perpetrated. If there were two men in the House who might have been expected to condemn or refuse to condone unmasked corruption, these two were the Minister of Justice and the leader of the Opposition. Yet the former openly supported Mr. Willoughby, after he had acknowledged himself the writer of a letter, which, as the *Montreal Gazette* mildly puts it, "indicated that he had, at least, considered a proposal to sell out his nomination, in return for an appointment to a public office," that is, for a Judgeship! The latter urged the electors of Montreal to send Mr. McShane to Ottawa to help him in putting down corruption, and the Ontario Minister of Education travelled all the way from Toronto on the same mission! What are we coming to? Rather, what have we come to? Of course, Mr. Willoughby says now, that his specification of his price was a joke. When a man puts down in writing and in precise detail the price for which he is willing to sell his own honour, or the honour of his wife or of his constituency, the joker should be sent to "his own place." That place is not the high court of Parliament. As for Mr. McShane, he offered no defence, and the best plea put forward for him was that he himself is so innocently unconscious of any defence being needed that he has never taken much trouble to "cover up his tracks." That he should be the Member for Montreal Centre, in spite of all the efforts put forth on behalf of Sir William Hingston by a Committee representing the financial, manufacturing and clerical forces of the community, added to the influence of the Federal and Provincial Governments, is a sign of the times. It is also a sign that a Government may try the patience of its supporters too long. By not appointing Mr. White Collector, three years ago, they have lost Cardwell and Montreal Centre, when it was inconvenient to lose either the one or the other, and a staggering blow to lose both.

G.

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## BALFOUR'S "FOUNDATIONS OF BELIEF." \*

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PLATO'S dream of the time when the philosopher shall be king, or the king philosopher, is not likely to come true, at least for many centuries. Nor is the reason far to seek: the philosopher who would fain be king must give his energies, not to the discovery of truth, but to the practical art of governing men and applying ideas which, in their large outlines at least, are admitted to be true; and the king who is ambitious to be a philosopher must be willing to subject all the beliefs ordinarily assumed to be true to a searching scrutiny, which will tax all his powers and create an ideal world which he can only hope to see realised after ages of progress. The problem of the pure thinker, in other words, is so different from the problem of the practical statesman, that they are not likely to be solved by the same person. This, however, is evidently not the opinion of Mr. Balfour. He seems to think that the king may be philosopher, though perhaps he would be very loath to admit that the philosopher would make a good king. The fruit of this conviction is his work on the "Foundations of Belief", in which, finding the two main systems at present accepted by philosophers who speak the English tongue completely unsatisfactory, he proposes to start *de novo*, and to set up a "provisional philosophy", which, though it makes no claim to finality, will at least be more satisfactory than Naturalism or Idealism. Now, it is worth observing, that in thus taking upon himself the burden of construction

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\*The Foundations of Belief: being notes introductory to the study of Theology. By The Right Hon. Arthur James Balfour. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1895.

on an entirely new basis, Mr. Balfour has not shrunk from a task which to most of those who have devoted their lives to philosophy seems to be beyond the powers of any single man. Mr. Balfour no doubt proved himself a good king of Ireland, but he did not attempt to govern it by his own unaided powers. The art of government has been practised by Englishmen for centuries, and the statesman of the present day, though he has to face new problems, comes to them with all the advantages which result from the garnered practical wealth of ages. But, when Mr. Balfour adopts the role of philosopher, he casts aside all the results of past thought ; the speculations of the great thinkers of our race count in his estimation for nothing, and he attempts the audacious feat of trying to support the world on his own shoulders. That he has miscalculated his strength will not, I think, be difficult to show. The task which he has attempted is, in my opinion, impossible ; and doubly impossible for one whose main energies have been expended in a different region. Just as in the sphere of science, the man who makes discoveries is he whose mind is continually occupied with scientific questions, so it is unreasonable to expect that any real contribution should be made to philosophy by one who takes it up at odd moments as a relief from other labours. An amateur like Mr. Balfour may no doubt write a brilliant book—and no one will deny that Mr. Balfour's book is brilliant—but it is pretty sure to be brilliant rather as an exhibition of skilful dialectic than as a solid contribution to the march of philosophic thought. In reading Mr. Balfour's pages one is continually struck by its cleverness and controversial ability : he is also struck, if he is familiar with the history of thought, with its one-sided statements of the theories controverted, and as a consequence with the inadequacy of its criticisms. Mr. Balfour has attacked Rationalism, Naturalism, and Idealism, and in no case has he attempted to explain why they have found adherents at all. His method of attack is controversial not historical, and all controversy of a purely negative character must be pronounced unsatisfactory. The only criticism of ideas which can be ultimately satisfactory is that which enters into them sympathetically, and shows that, when taken as ultimate, they contradict themselves. By following this method we do not virtually accuse past thinkers of a stupid and reprehensible blindness : we under-

stand both why certain ideas seemed to them satisfactory as an explanation of the world and why they must give place to other ideas which supersede by absorbing them in a wider synthesis. This historical method is the only one, as it seems to me, that we can now employ with any hope of success in formulating even a "provisional philosophy"; and Mr. Balfour, by falling back upon the controversial method, which may be effective enough in parliamentary debate, has secured beforehand that his philosophy shall be barren.

The main foe with whom Mr. Balfour tries a fall is Naturalism. Idealism, he fears, is not much more satisfactory, and Rationalism, as he is certain, is but a half-way house to Naturalism. Now it is significant that, in first treating of Naturalism, then of Idealism, and last of all of Rationalism Mr. Balfour has inverted the historical order. Rationalism is the creed of the eighteenth century deists, Idealism owes its origin to Kant and his successors, and Naturalism, as our author deals with it, is the philosophy of the scientific evolutionists who have combined the empiricism of Mill and his followers with an extension of the Darwinian theory of evolution to philosophical problems. Mr. Balfour follows this order of exposition for strategical reasons. The public he has in his eye is the average cultivated Englishman, who, as he knows, is only or mainly interested in philosophical problems because of their real or supposed practical influence; and hence he sees that, if he can create alarm in the minds of this class of readers, his victory will be almost won. Accordingly, the book opens with a criticism of Naturalism or Agnosticism; not, however, with an enquiry into its speculative basis, but with a picture of the serious practical consequences which must follow from its universal acceptance. What is the intrinsic value of this section of Mr. Balfour's book I shall afterwards consider; meantime, I merely point out that we have here in the order of exposition an exhibition of the author's method, which is to aim at telling and persuasive effects rather than to conduct an unimpassioned enquiry into the truth of the system of thought which he attacks. He is hardly less skilful in his treatment of Idealism. The reader is warned not to take this section of the book too seriously: Idealism is the creed of the philosophical expert, and can be understood only by those who

have had a special training; what is said about it may therefore be passed over without much loss. The ordinary reader is only too glad to escape from a region where, as he is assured, he will not feel at home; and, as he may be presumed to be now convinced by Mr. Balfour's able polemic against Naturalism that he is in safe hands, he gives the author credit for having demolished Idealism as well as Naturalism. Mr. Balfour is not leader of Her Majesty's government in the House of Commons for nothing. And the worst of it is, that a hasty reading of what Mr. Balfour is pleased to call the creed of Idealism is sure to leave in the ordinary reader's mind the conviction that its exponents must be a set of unpractical dreamers, who actually base their philosophy upon the absurdity that there is no other reality but a man's own ideas! If that is true, and Mr. Balfour assures him it is, he naturally concludes that Idealism may be safely set aside. When he comes to deal with Rationalism, Mr. Balfour has an easy task before him. The very name is associated in the popular mind with a denial of the supernatural, and therefore with a denial of those religious convictions which alone give sanctity to human life. And when the reader is assured that the rationalist is but a naturalist who wants the courage of his opinions, he is not hard to convince that the rationalist also has gone down before the vigorous lance of Mr. Balfour, and is breathing his last beside his brethren, the naturalist and the idealist. The successful champion has therefore the field to himself, and can now uplift the banner of the "provisional philosophy", secure of the sympathy of the ordinary reader. For that reader cannot but be comforted to learn that the new philosophy is one that from its familiarity immediately commands his sympathy; indeed, the only doubt which is now apt to arise in his mind, is whether Mr. Balfour can be right in calling by the name of philosophy a few fragments borrowed from popular theology. And if he has been disposed to find a certain comfort in recent historical criticism, which seemed to breathe new life into old abstractions, he must be rather taken aback to learn from Mr. Balfour that "the trail of the serpent is over it all"; for Mr. Balfour finds that the method of historical criticism is simply the method of naturalism applied to the sacred writings.

In what has been said I have had no intention of implying



that Mr. Balfour is not perfectly honest in all that he says, or that he has employed his dialectical skill with a conscious rhetorical end in view. That he is perfectly honest I am sure: he is fighting for the conservation of morality and religion, as he understands them, and he cannot be blamed for employing the weapons with which he is familiar and which he has found effective in another sphere. My point is, that from his whole training and habits of thought Mr. Balfour is unconsciously led to apply to the discussion of philosophical problems a method which is essentially inappropriate and subversive of every possible system of philosophy. He selects points of attack, instead of seeking to get at the substantial truth of the doctrines with which he disagrees, and he violates that historical method of investigation which is the only avenue to philosophical truth. I do not therefore propose to follow him in the order of exposition, which, for his own purposes, he has seen fit to adopt; I propose to consider the systems which he criticises in their historical order, and therefore I shall first examine what he has to say about Rationalism, next what he finds defective in Idealism, and then what he has to object to Naturalism. When these topics are disposed of, we may then go on to his peculiar view of Authority, and, lastly, to his own "provisional philosophy". These five topics—Rationalism, Idealism, Naturalism, Authority and the Provisional Philosophy—exhaust the contents of Mr. Balfour's book, apart from incidental remarks on the history of theological dogmas and on recent biblical criticism, and a discussion of naturalistic aesthetics, which is rather of the nature of an appendix than essential to the main argument.

#### I.—RATIONALISM.

Mr. Balfour prepares the way for his criticism of Rationalism by asking whether any of the great systems of philosophy of the past gives us a tenable theory of the universe. He of course decides that they do not, and he characteristically adds that we only go to them "for stray arguments on this or that question" (164). To go to them "for stray arguments" may be a very natural method of procedure in the parliamentary orator; but it is certainly not the method of philosophy. The arguments of the great philosophers "on this or that question" have no value whatever apart from the system of which they form a part, and if the sys-

tem has no value neither have the arguments. There is no more peniculous or more unenlightening method than to detach a particular problem from its place in a philosophical system, and to ask what is then its value. Philosophy is not a string of detached propositions, but an organic whole, and we can neither understand that great organism of human thought of which particular philosophies are partial expressions, nor one of its individual members as expressed in this or that system, if we break it up into parts, and treat these as if they had an independent meaning. This method, which I venture to call anachronistic, ignores the fact that each philosophy is the reflective crown and flower of the age in which it has birth. Take an illustration. Anselm put forward an argument for the existence of God, which since Kant's day is usually known as the Ontological argument. The idea of God, he said, is that of a Being than whom no greater can be conceived, and therefore it implies that God exists not only in our minds as an idea but as a real being. We read this argument in some history of philosophy, and we form a very poor idea of Anselm's logical faculty. How could any one, we naturally say, suppose that, because I have an idea of a perfect Being, and because my idea is of a Being who exists beyond my mind, therefore such a Being does exist beyond my mind? My idea of a hundred dollars, as Kant says, does not put a hundred dollars in my pocket. Now Anselm was by no means deficient in logical faculty: like other medieval thinkers he had a preternaturally keen logical faculty. Why, then, did an argument which seems so weak to us, appear so strong to him? We can only answer that question by putting ourselves at home with the whole point of view of the middle ages. We have to remember that to Anselm, living habitually in the region of the unseen and eternal, the existence of God was much more real than his own existence. For, as he thought, his own existence was contingent; the existence of God as the source of all reality including himself, was necessary. Did not God exist, *he* would have no existence and no ideas. Hence, finding in himself an idea of a Being than whom no greater could be conceived, he argued that the source of this as of all other ideas was God, and therefore that God was a real being. And surely Anselm is substantially right. Yet we cannot accept the argument as he states it, because we have become ac-

customed to the distinction between ideas in our mind and realities beyond our minds. The distinction, however, is one that will not bear the test of criticism, and ultimately we have to come back, not to Anselm's point of view, which is impossible for us, but to an analogous point of view, which is deeper and richer because it has passed through the crucible of doubt and come forth purified. Not to dwell too long upon this illustration, I think it may be said summarily, that Mr. Balfour's method of going to past thinkers for "stray arguments" is preposterous, unless he means, as he plainly does not, that we may find in them an outline of truth, which the growing insight of later thinkers has developed into a more rounded and more perfect form.

Let us return to Mr. Balfour. "We have at the present time," he tells us, "neither a satisfactory system of metaphysics nor a satisfactory theory of science" (171). Now, "faith may be provisionally defined as conviction apart from or in excess of proof." Hence, "it is upon faith that the maxims of daily life, not less than the loftiest creeds and the most far-reaching discoveries, must ultimately lean." If this be true, "we can no longer be content with the simple view, once universally accepted, that whenever any discrepancy, real or supposed, occurs between the two, science must be rejected as heretical; nor with the equally simple view, that every theological statement, if unsupported by science, is doubtful; if inconsistent with science, is false" (172). For these opinions "are evidently tolerable only on the hypothesis that we are in possession of a body of doctrine which is not only itself philosophically established, but to whose canons of proof all other doctrines are bound to conform" (172). But there is no such body of doctrine. "The determination to obtain consistency at all costs has been the prolific parent of many intellectual narrownesses and many frigid bigotries (173)." Now, Rationalism is a striking instance of the misuse of the Canon of Consistency. By Rationalism is meant "a special form of that reaction against dogmatic theology which may be said with sufficient accuracy to have taken its rise in the Renaissance, to have increased in force and volume during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and to have reached its most complete expression in the Naturalism of our own day (175). Rationalism consisted in the application, consciously or unconsciously, of one great

method to the decision of every controversy.....Did a belief square with a view of the universe based exclusively upon the prevalent mode of interpreting sense-perception? If so, it might survive. Did it clash with such a mode, or lie beyond it? It was superstitious; it was unscientific; it was ridiculous; it was incredible (178).” It is true that “the general body of rationalisers have been slow to see and reluctant to accept the full consequences of their own principles.” But the assumption that the kind of experience which gives us natural science is the sole basis of knowledge must logically end in Naturalism (179). It may be objected that Rationalism as it existed historically is not identical with Naturalism, but is an attempt to “run Modern Science and Theology together into a single coherent and self-sufficient system of thought, by the simple process of making science supply all the premises on which theological conclusions are afterwards based” (182). Theology is by it divided into Natural and Revealed, and both are based upon facts of the scientific order. “The logical burden of the entire theological structure is thrown upon the evidence for certain events which took place long ago, and principally in a small district to the east of the Mediterancan, the occurrence of which is sought to be proved by the ordinary methods of historical investigation” (185). But more than this is necessary. Such reasoning will not convince “a man trained on the strictest principles of Naturalism” (186). He will reply that “no explanation could be less satisfactory than one which required us, on the strength of three or four ancient documents .....to remodel and revolutionise every principle which governs us with an unquestioned jurisdiction in our judgment on the Universe at large.” “Is it not certain that the huge expanse of his theology, attached by so slender a tie to the main system .....will sooner or later have to be abandoned; and that the weak and artificial connection which has been so ingeniously contrived will snap at the first strain to which it shall be subjected by the forces either of criticism or sentiment (189)?”

It seems to me impossible to accept Mr. Balfour's definition of “faith” as “conviction apart from or in excess of proof.” Such a definition can be accepted only if by “proof” is meant arguments drawn from premises which rest upon a partial or limited view of reality. Thus, if proof is demanded of the exis-

tence of a Spiritual Principle in the universe, and the proof advanced starts from the absolute dualism of matter and mind, it is obvious that the conclusion cannot be legitimately reached. The true lesson from this is, that our starting point was false, and must be revised. All proof in fact consists, not in the formal process of drawing a conclusion from accepted premises—a method which obviously could never take us a step beyond the premises from which we start—but in a growing process of insight by which the preconceptions from which we start are transformed. Every inference thus gives in the conclusion something more and something different from what is contained in the premises. This view of inference has been practically recognised by all modern discoverers; and all philosophers of the first rank, from Descartes and Locke downwards, have more or less clearly denied that any genuine inference can be drawn by a syllogistic process. Thus Descartes remarks that the rules of formal logic, however valuable they may be in the exposition of truth already discovered, cannot in the least help us to discover new truth. And all recent treatises on logic clearly enunciate the principle, that inference is a process in which given data are transformed by the insight of reason. Mr. Balfour, however, is evidently still of opinion that proof consists in finding certain ultimate data, and from these deducing a conclusion. The whole notion of such data is absurd; for, obviously *ultimate* data cannot be transcended, or they would not be ultimate. Faith, then, as I maintain, can never consist in "conviction apart from or in excess of proof." If there is no proof, the so-called "faith" is a baseless hypothesis, and all such hypotheses are on precisely the same level. Thus, if the existence of a Spiritual Principle has no proof, it is a mere conjecture, and the opposite theory of a Material Principle as the explanation of the universe has the same value. On this view, indeed, all forms of religion are of equal value, *i.e.* they have none of them any rational basis whatever. Fetishism has the same degree of evidence as Polytheism, Pantheism as Monotheism. Mr. Balfour's definition of faith is thus simply a hardly-concealed universal scepticism. Nor is the case different, if we say that faith is "in excess of proof." For, what goes beyond proof has no rational basis, but is a mere unverified assumption. I maintain, then, that faith

rests upon proof, and draws its whole strength from proof, and that it is never either "apart from" or "in excess of" proof; but is a concise and accurate rendering of what is contained in the proof. No doubt we hold many things which we may not be able to set forth in precise terms, but proof does not depend upon absolute precision of statement, but upon mental cogency. The reason, as it seems to me, why the Christian faith has stronger claims to assent than other religions is just because the proof of it is stronger.

Having prepared the reader, by his definition of faith, for a loose and wavering application of the principle of reason,—the principle that what is self-contradictory cannot be true—Mr. Balfour goes on to say that we have no right to condemn science as heretical because it is discrepant from theology, or theology because it is discrepant from science; to do so is to be the victim of "intellectual narrowness" or "frigid bigotry." Now let us be perfectly clear as to what Mr. Balfour here means. If science contradicts theology, it is not to be pronounced "heretical." Is it not? If the theology is true, can the science contradict it without being false? If the theology is false, science must contradict it, if it is itself true? Why, then, does Mr. Balfour refuse us the right to condemn the false, and applaud the true? He does so, because, as his whole argument shows and his definition of faith implies, he believes that truth is not necessarily self-consistent. What we call truths of science are not truths but approximations to truth, and the same holds good of the truths of theology. Such a doctrine is manifestly pure scepticism. Will Mr. Balfour tell us how, after he has denied the principle of self-consistency, he can be sure that he is denying it? May it not be that, in the nebulous region of a "faith" that is "apart from, or in excess of proof," he is really *affirming* that principle? Nay, why may he not be both affirming and denying it 'in the same sense and at the same time', to use Aristotle's phraseology? We see now, I think, what comes of defining faith as Mr. Balfour does. What gives plausibility to Mr. Balfour's view is, that in a sense science and theology cannot contradict each other, because they never predicate about 'the same thing in the same sense.' When the scientific man affirms that the law of the conservation of energy admits of no exception,

his affirmation is in regard to a law which obtains between material masses, and material masses alone. If indeed the scientific man forgets or is unaware of the limitation within which the law is universally valid, and affirms that it is a law of all existence, mental as well as material, he will no doubt come into collision with theology. But, in my opinion, he will equally come into collision with science. For the scientific law is one in regard to the mode of action of masses of matter, and that law is contradicted if it is held to apply to mind, since in that case we should have an energy which never expresses itself. There is here, therefore, no contradiction between science and theology, but only a contradiction between a true scientific principle and a false theological or philosophical principle. Similarly, if the theologian affirms that there is a Spiritual Principle in the universe which is implied in all modes of existence, he does not contradict any principle of science. But, if he affirms that the solar system came into being all at once, and not by a gradual process of formation, he does contradict science, and his theology is so far false. But it is false, precisely for the same reason that the scientific man who says that the law of the conservation of energy applies to mind affirms what is false, viz: because it is contradictory, not merely of science, but of a true theology. A true theology must refer all modes of existence to a Spiritual Principle which is harmonious with their character, and a Spiritual Principle which is inconsistent with the process of formation of the solar system is a false hypothesis. There can, therefore, be no contradiction between science and theology, unless one or the other is false. Truth, in short, is a self-consistent whole: *falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*, as Sir William Hamilton was fond of saying. When we cannot reconcile two propositions, both of which seem to us true, we may be certain that we are at a wrong point of view.

Mr. Balfour proceeds to apply his principle of faith and the compatibility of contradictories to Rationalism. The sin of Rationalism was in applying the method of science to religious ideas, and thus ignoring the difference of the two spheres. Now, it cannot be denied that the rationalists of the eighteenth century did tend to ignore the true limits of natural science, and the result was that they came to conceive of the universe as a cold,

dead, mechanical product, moved by cogs of wheels, as Goethe says, but destitute of the living Spirit of God. They did, also, as Mr. Balfour says, believe "the Universe to have been designed by a Deity for the same sort of reason that we believe Canterbury Cathedral to have been designed by an architect ; and they came to believe in the events narrated in the Gospels for the same sort of reason that we believe in the murder of Thomas à Becket " (185). All this is true, and to anyone who has a genuine feeling for the complexity and spirituality of the universe Rationalism is most unlovely and repellent. But, after all, we must not treat Rationalism any more than other phases of the human spirit in an unsympathetic and unhistorical way. We may be perfectly certain that the good honest *bourgeois* rationalist of the eighteenth century, who prided himself on his "enlightenment" and his freedom from superstition could not quite divest himself of reason, though he did talk so much about it. In Germany the philosophical king of the Rationalists was Wolff, and it must be admitted that Wolff has a self-complacent dulness and imperviousness to ideas which it would be hard to match. Nevertheless, Wolff did not live in vain, nor did his kindred, the English deists, live in vain. Mr. Balfour finds that the end of them all is Naturalism, and Naturalism is for him the death of religion ; yet he admits that their arguments, "as far as they go, are good." "The argument, or perhaps I should say *an* argument, from design, in some shape or other, will always have value ; while the argument from history must always form a part of the evidence for any historical religion " (185). Now, if the rationalists, as our author admits, so far had their faces turned in the right direction, how can he say that they must, by following the path upon which they had entered, end in the abyss of Naturalism ? Surely, they would rather have come to the sunlit heights had they but kept on ! Mr. Balfour "cuts things in two with an axe." Rationalism must be either absolutely right, or absolutely wrong. It would be nearer the truth to say that it was both right and wrong. And why it came to be there facing both ways we may readily understand if we glance at its antecedents.

Rationalism, we are told, took its rise in the Renaissance. No doubt it did ; but it also took its rise in the Reformation. When external authority and tradition were discarded as intoler-



able fetters on the human spirit, it was tacitly affirmed that in his own reason the individual can find support for all beliefs. But the Reformers, as we know, accepted very largely the traditional theology, itself an imperfect fusion of Christian ideas and dualistic forms of thought borrowed from later Greek philosophy. This acquiescence was inevitable, but it could not fail to have its fruits ultimately in a breach between reason and dogma. Now, the Renaissance, so far as it took a scientific form, was mainly a mathematical or mechanical theory of nature. Galileo, Kepler, Newton, were all occupied with the problem of determining the fixed relations in the way of quantity involved in the statical and dynamical aspects of the world. Thus we have, proceeding from the same principle, a religious and a scientific movement. But these two movements go on apart, and the representatives of the one have little sympathy for the representatives of the other. The party representing the theological interests, strong in their own religious experience, and unable to formulate it except in terms of a defective theology, were intolerant of criticism; and the representatives of science were either indifferent or hostile to a theology, which they felt instinctively to be irreconcilable with scientific truth. Now, Rationalism represents the partial triumph of the scientific or secular spirit, not over the religious spirit, which is invulnerable to its assault, but over the dogmatic theology borrowed from the past and associated with it. But Rationalism is not less, on the other side, a child of theology, *i.e.*, of that conception of an extra-mundane creator and artificer of the world which Protestant Theology to its loss borrowed from Scholasticism. Thus, our eighteenth century thinkers were partly the exponents of the scientific spirit, and partly of the dogmatic spirit; but between these they made no clear distinction, and the inevitable consequence was that the limitations of scientific theory were not observed, and hence the inadequacy of mechanical conceptions to express spiritual truths was not discerned. Nevertheless, the Rationalists did good service by preparing the way for a clear distinction between the laws of nature and the principle of religion, and they showed the necessity of bringing the contents of both into harmony with each other. It was in the attempt to secure this harmony that they employed the idea of final cause—no doubt in a very external and inadequate

way—and, though no real synthesis could be effected by their method, it is untrue and unhistorical to ignore either aspect of their doctrine. Naturalism, is therefore, to my mind, no more the end of Rationalism than Spiritualism, in the noble sense of that term; and it seems to me nothing less than perverse in a man of Mr. Balfour's culture to force every mode of thought except his own into the same Procrustean bed.

## II.—IDEALISM.

Rationalism, as we have seen, was an inevitable stage in the evolution of modern thought, but it contained an unresolved contradiction, a solution of which was demanded. Such a solution was advanced in Germany by the great school of Idealists, whose systems arose in the further development of the critical philosophy of Kant, and in England by Coleridge and Carlyle, in an unsystematic way, and more recently by philosophical writers like the late Professor T. H. Green. Mr. Balfour, as usual, makes no attempt, in the section devoted to Idealism, to view it in its historical relations. That is not his way: his purpose is to show its untenability as a system of the universe, and therefore he attacks it as he would attack a political opponent in the House of Commons; and, as not unfrequently happens in such encounters, the picture he draws of his opponent is very different from what his opponent would draw of himself: so very different, indeed, that the latter would be apt to say that Mr. Balfour was a very poor painter, however successful he might be in unintentional caricature.

Idealism, as Mr. Balfour understands it, "reduces all experience to an experience of relations," or "constitutes the universe out of categories." Now, it is no doubt true that we cannot reduce the universe to "an unrelated chaos of impressions or sensations;" but, "must we not also grant that in all experience there is a refractory element which, though it cannot be presented in isolation, nevertheless refuses wholly to merge its being in a network of relations?" If so, whence does this irreducible element arise? The mind, we are told, is the source of relation. What is the source of that which is related? The "thing in itself" of Kant "raises more difficulties that it solves"; and, indeed, the followers of Kant themselves point out that this hypothetical

cause of that which is "given" in experience, cannot be known as a cause, or even as existing (144). But, "we do not get rid of the difficulty by getting rid of Kant's solution of it . . . and, indeed, it is hard to see how it is possible to conceive a universe in which nothing is to be permitted for the relations to subsist between. Relations surely imply a something which is related, and if that something is, in the absence of relations, nothing for us as thinking beings, so relations in the absence of that something are mere symbols emptied of their signification" (145). "Those, moreover, who hold that these all-constituting relations are the work of the mind, would seem bound also to hold that this concrete world of ours . . . must evolve itself *a priori* out of the movement of pure thought" (145). Again, Idealists, starting from the analysis of experience, arrive at the conclusion that the world of objects exists, and has a meaning only for the self-conscious 'I', and that the self-conscious 'I' only knows itself in contrast to the world of objects. "How, then, can we venture to say of one that the other is its product? Thus though the presence of a self-conscious principle may be necessary to constitute the universe, it cannot be considered as the creator of the universe; or if it be, then must we acknowledge that precisely in the same way and precisely to the same extent is the universe the creator of the self-conscious principle" (147).

So far Mr. Balfour in regard to the idealistic theory of knowledge. To that theory he objects; firstly, that conceptions or categories are relations, and imply something related, whereas Idealism admits nothing but relations, and therefore does not explain the world we know; secondly, these relations are purely the work of the mind, and from them the concrete world must be evolved by *a priori* construction; lastly, since the self-conscious subject has no meaning apart from the world, and the world no meaning apart from the self-conscious subject, the self-conscious principle cannot be the creator of the universe; or at least it is just as true that the universe is the creator of the self-conscious principle.

(1) Mr. Balfour's first objection is that Idealism resolves all knowable reality into relations of thought, and therefore involves the absurdity of relations with nothing to relate. This objection would undoubtedly be valid if it were true that Idealism resolved

the knowable world into relations or abstract conceptions. But it does nothing of the kind. Mr. Balfour has simply failed to grasp the meaning of the idealistic theory of thought or reason as the constitutive principle of all knowledge and all reality. What that theory maintains may perhaps be understood when it is stated somewhat thus. The sensationalist theory of knowledge reduces the whole contents of knowledge to individual units or feelings, all of which are separate and distinct from one another; and, having done so, it invents a peculiar mechanism of ideas, called "association," by which the individual units or feelings may seem to carry on the work of thought. Idealism denies that there are any such ultimate units or constituents of mind, and, as a consequence, it rejects the mechanical "association of ideas" as a device for plausibly explaining the connection of what is at first assumed to have no connection. It therefore maintains that in the very simplest phase of knowledge there is already involved the activity of the thinking subject, an activity which is not reducible to a number of unrelated units or a mechanical aggregate of such units, but implies a living, thinking, combining subject. The fiction of a "matter" of sense it rejects as an untenable hypothesis; for that fiction evidently rests upon the assumption of individual and unrelated units of feeling. When Idealism denies that there is any given "matter" of sense, it does not affirm that knowledge is reducible to abstract conceptions or categories: what it affirms is that the concrete content of knowledge exists only for a thinking or combining subject, and therefore that we cannot explain even the simplest phase of knowledge without taking into account both factors—the relating activity, and the determinate reality related. Mr. Balfour assumes that the denial of a given matter of sense is the same thing as the denial of all determinate reality. But the denial of the former by no means involves the denial of the latter. The thinking subject cannot have before him any object which exists for him as a known object without grasping it by thought, or interpreting his immediate feelings by reference to the idea, explicit or implicit, of a connected system of reality; but he does not create the object he interprets: he only grasps it as it really is. And Idealism maintains that the impossibility of having the consciousness of any object which cannot be combined with the consciousness of self, shows

that any object which cannot be so combined is a mere surd, the product of a false theory of knowledge. When the knowing subject sets aside all conjectures as to the nature of things and enquires into the actual nature of the knowable world, he discovers that it is a system, and is therefore intelligible or rational; and, though he is well aware that he has not a fully rounded knowledge of all that the real world involves, he is certain that, with a sufficient extension of knowledge, he would find it rational through and through. Perhaps what has been said will be sufficient to show that what Idealism denies is not that the world is concrete, but that it contains any irrational or unintelligible element. It is on this ground that the Idealist rejects any supposed matter of sense, *i.e.* a matter assumed to be absolutely opaque to a rational being.

(2) There will now be little difficulty in answering Mr. Balfour's second objection. Since the Idealist maintains that all reality can be resolved into conceptions, he must, objects Mr. Balfour, derive the world entirely from such conceptions, and therefore purely *a priori*. But the Idealist does not seek to derive the world from pure conceptions: what he maintains is that the whole concrete content of the world is essentially relative to and the manifestation of a Supreme Reason, and that the human subject, when he comes to apprehend the world as it really is, must ultimately come to the consciousness of this truth. At the same time it is possible to direct attention to the universal conceptions or relations of thought which form what may be called the soul or spirit of the real world, and so to make the whole system of such conceptions a special object of study. Such a study yields what may be called either Logic or Metaphysic, according as we consider these conceptions as activities of intelligence or as universal laws of reality. The value of such a study cannot be doubted by anyone who observes how many problems which perplex the human mind may be resolved by a clear perception of the relative value of a given conception in the determination of the true nature of reality. For example, the idea of causality is the category with which the scientific man habitually works. Every event or phenomenon he refers to its cause. Now, a critical examination of the conception so employed makes it manifest that what the scientific man is in all cases seeking to

discover are the special conditions of a given event. The event is assumed as a particular fact occurring in time; but the scientific man does not ask whether it could exist at all, were all intelligence banished from the universe. If therefore the conception of cause, as understood in scientific investigation, is employed to explain the whole nature of existence, obviously we must regard the world as simply a totality of events occurring in fixed ways, or under fixed conditions. Even mind must therefore be determined as a sum of events, and anyone may readily see that in this way all that is characteristic of mind will vanish. For a totality of events connected in fixed ways cannot know itself as a totality of events; and hence if we make an attempt to force mind into the frame of the causal relation, we get into innumerable difficulties, and are forced to go on inventing all sorts of hypotheses to cover over the fundamental contradiction of explaining how the sum of events can present the appearance of a self-active intelligence. This instance may help to explain why the Idealist attaches so much importance to the separate consideration of the conceptions by which the nature of the real world is made intelligible. These conceptions are just the framework which supports and gives meaning to reality: they are, so to speak, the articulations of intelligence. and it is no exaggeration to say that in firmly grasping them in their relation to one another, we are, in Kepler's phrase, "thinking the thoughts of God after him." For they are not peculiar, the Idealist maintains, to this or that man, nor to man as distinguished from God; but they are the universal forms of all intelligence, the manifestation of the very nature of the Supreme Intelligence, in whose image our intelligence is made. And these forms of intelligence are not derived by any abstract process of *a priori* deduction. No school of thought has insisted so strongly as Idealism upon the necessity of studying the development of the human spirit historically. It is only in the long and slow process of the ages, by the gradual growth of experience in all its phases, that we have become aware of the articulations of intelligence. For intelligence manifests its nature only in the application to concrete objects: it is always a unity, but it displays its own organism only in the gradual process by which that unity is specified. The development of human intelligence is precisely measured by the development of

knowledge, morality, art, and religion. As the world grows richer for man his intelligence becomes more complex; and the reason is that the world is the expression of a Supreme Intelligence, in the comprehension of which all spiritual life consists. But, though man thus gradually comes to know the nature of God, and therefore his own nature, this does not hinder the logician from disengaging the conceptions by which he has determined reality, making them a special object of investigation, and viewing them by reference to their place in the whole organism of thought. Thus reflecting upon the various modes by which the unity of all existence is specified, he is enabled to form a system of conceptions which expresses what the nature of intelligence is. From this system he does not attempt to deduce the concrete wealth of the actual world: he merely points out that the world must conform to the system of intelligence, for the reason that that system represents the modes of activity by which the world is unified. It is thus evident that the Idealist is not open to the charge of seeking to deduce the world from *a priori* ideas: he deduces nothing but the system of ideas itself, though he regards that system as an expression of the intelligence which he derives from and shares with God. To discover the nature of the world there is no method but the slow and gradual process by which science advances, and society develops.

(3) Mr. Balfour's last objection is that Idealism has no more right to maintain that the self-conscious principle creates the world than that the world creates the self-conscious principle. The objection is a very good instance of the importance of Logic as a criticism of the conceptions by which the real world is sought to be made intelligible. Mr. Balfour evidently starts from the separate existence of the world and the self-conscious intelligence, and then proceeds to ask which of them produces the other. In other words, he assumes that we can adequately conceive the relation of the world to the intelligence which makes it real by an application of the conception of causality. Now it has already been pointed out that the conception of causality is quite inadequate to the determination of the nature of intelligence, and it may now be shown similarly that it is equally inadequate to the determination of the relation between intelligence and the world. The world which is known to us has gradually

grown up by the exercise of our intelligence as interpreting particular experiences. But, because in the ordinary operations of the mind our interest is in the character of what is known, not in the conditions under which it is known, we come to suppose, naturally enough, that the world exists as an independent reality, which would be what it is even if there were no intelligence. It is only when we come to reflect that a self-dependent world—a world devoid of all relations to a spiritual principle—could never give rise to self-conscious beings, that we are forced to reconsider our first view, and to ask whether, apart from the spiritual principle, anything whatever could exist. When we do so reflect, we cannot help seeing, if we keep the problem clearly before our minds, that a non-spiritual principle can never explain a world in which there are spiritual beings. With this insight, we have to revise our first view of the world as a self-dependent reality, exclusive of intelligence, and to conceive of it as a world which exists only in dependence upon an intelligence. Now, when we have thus transformed our first naive conception of the world as a self-subsistent thing, there is no longer any meaning in asking whether intelligence creates the world, or the world creates intelligence. There is no world apart from intelligence, and therefore to ask whether intelligence creates the world is to ask whether intelligence creates itself. The only rational question we can ask is why we *distinguish* between intelligence and the world, not how intelligence *produces* the world. The former question admits of an intelligible answer, the latter does not. We distinguish between intelligence and the world, because we distinguish between the principle of unity and the manifestations of that unity. But we cannot separate intelligence from the world, because the world is just intelligence viewed in its concrete manifestations. Some such process as that by which a new view of the world is obtained is implied in all phases of the religious consciousness; and what Idealism does is merely to set forth explicitly the process which the religious consciousness unreflectively follows. If Mr. Balfour had only considered that the Divine Intelligence is manifested in the world, he would have seen that to ask whether either creates the other is to ask a question which cannot be answered, because it is unmeaning. There is no reality except intelligence, and hence it



cannot create a reality other than itself; and, on the other hand, the world cannot create intelligence, for this would mean that a nonentity created the one and only reality. The difficulty, therefore, which Mr. Balfour raises as fatal to Idealism is only fatal to his own assumption of an intelligence and a world which are regarded as two independent and separate existences, *i.e.*, as two universes having no relation to each other.

I shall not follow Mr. Balfour further in his criticism of Idealism. When a writer has not succeeded in apprehending the first principle of the doctrine he is assailing, his further criticisms are mere shooting in the air; and it is a thankless task to be pointing out over and over again that what he attacks does not affect the system to which he objects, but only his own misunderstanding of it. It will be more profitable to consider Mr. Balfour's criticism of Naturalism.

(Continued in next number.)

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#### SAINTE-BEUVE ON BALZAC.

I like his style in the finer parts—the efflorescence (I cannot find another word) by which he gives the feeling of life to everything, and makes the page itself thrill. But I cannot accept, under the cover of physiology, the continual abuse of that quality, the style so often unsteady and dissolvent, enervated, rosy and streaked with all colours, the style of a delicious corruption; Asiatic, as our masters said; in places more interrupted and more softened than the body of an ancient mime. From the midst of the scenes he describes does not Petronius somewhere regret what he calls *oratio pudica*, the modest style which does not abandon itself to the fluidity of every moment?

Another point on which I dwell in Balzac as physiologist and anatomist, is that he at least imagined as much as he observed. A fine anatomist morally, he certainly discovered new veins; he found, and as it were injected, lympheducts, till then unperceived, and he also invented them. There is a point in his analysis when the real and actual plexus ends and the illusory plexus begins, and he does not distinguish between the two. The greater part of his readers, especially of his lady readers, confused them as he did. This is not the place to insist on those points of separation. But it is known that Balzac had an avowed weakness for the Swedenborgs, Van Helmonts, Mesmers, Saint Germain, and Cagliostros of all sorts—that is to say, he was subject to illusion. In short, to carry out my physical and anatomical metaphor, I shall say, when he holds the carotid artery of his subject, he injects it at bottom with firmness and vigour; but when he is at fault he injects all the same, and always produces, creating, without quite perceiving it, an imaginary net-work.

## THE BOOK OF JONAH.

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THREE views have been maintained by commentators regarding this book, with all possible gradations between, to say nothing as to the view which would make it a mystic mosaic. It has been treated as pure fable ; as allegory with an historic basis ; as a veritable history. When treated as history pure and simple, as *e.g.* by the late Dr. Eadie in Kitto's Cyclopædia, the strained and apologetic manner of the article testifies to the difficulty felt in thus accepting the writing. The pointed allusion of our Saviour (Matt. xii. 40) to the prophet is confessedly the strongest argument used in support of the literalness of the narrative, though the manifestly parabolic character of very much of the Saviour's teaching does not justify the pressing unduly of that allusion in favour of a purely historical character. We do not purpose in this essay to discuss the views alluded to, or to formally comment upon the narrative ; but to present certain considerations, which may form a theory as to the real character of this—to us—most marvellous teaching of the Old Testament Canon.

Let this be premised. The divine inspiration of the book is in no way affected by the view we may take of the form assumed in the delivery of the divine message. Christ taught by parable ; the psalmist praised in allegory (*e.g.* Ps. lxxx. 8-16) ; prophets denounced and encouraged by visions ; (Ezek. viii., ix. ; Zech. i., ii., etc.) there is surely no irreverence in enquiring whether instruction may not be given in the form of "a tale that is told."

The Orient is emphatically the land of tales ; and the tale-teller even now has not forsaken the bazaar and market-places of those eastern lands. Like to the old Celtic bards and Saxon ballad singers they formed a recognized order in social life ; only we must not confound the tale with folk-lore, which the rather deals with traditions, beliefs and customs, appealing more to national sentiment and heroic purpose. The tale on the other hand was characteristically entertaining, character sketching, individual and domestic rather than heroic or national. A writer

quoted in *Encyclopædia Britannica* says: "The ancient Persians were the first to invent tales, and make books of them, and some of their tales were put in the mouth of animals. The Arhghanians, or third dynasty of Persian kings, and after them the Sasanians, had a special part in the development of this literature, which found Arabic translators, and was taken up by accomplished literati, who edited it and imitated it." There are indications that the book of Esther in the form in which it appears in our Hebrew Bible owes much to Persian sources, and may be as the book we are noticing, best interpreted from the same stand point. In that collection of wonders which delighted our early years "The Thousand and One Nights," we have a modernized illustration of the popularity of tales which point to other and far more ancient sources than the purely Arabian and Mohammedan form in which they appear to us. Our coldly practical temper can little understand the imaginative fervour of the Orient, fortunately we are finding access to its inner spirit ere under the disintegrating power of the nineteenth century civilization it passes utterly away. Now it appears to me that the Spirit of Christ which testified through the prophets was as likely to use the tale for the purpose of divine revelation as the parable, the allegory, or the symbol; and if we apply this suggestion to the book of Jonah we may at once set to work to discern its teaching without perplexing ourselves about historical accuracy or in apologising for its strangely miraculous events. We read it as a tale with a divine message. Not that the miraculous is considered by the writer as a stumbling block, he who accepts the raising up from the dead of Lazarus, or the still more stupendous miracle of the Saviour's resurrection and session at the Father's right hand, has no need of searching records of natural history for parallels to the fish that swallowed Jonah. A miracle is not to be explained by our ordinary observation of the laws of nature. Its very character puts it outside the region of our experience and observation; when brought within that sphere its specific character as miracle ceases. There is however—if we may adapt a musical term to a writing—a timbre or tone-color in this record that distinguishes it from pure narrative.—The already noticed apologetic tone in which the most literal commentators treat the prophecy is an unconscious testimony to this peculiarity. Who would mistake, even when

sounding the same note, a tenor for a treble voice? Can we say unreservedly that the book of Jonah strikes the historic tone? Is there not about it the verisimilitude of the tale?

If these questions should be provisionally answered in the affirmative, it remains for us to enquire into the special teaching of the book, for we may be assured of this, if a divine revelation, it has more than entertainment for us; and it may be that rightly divining the message may add strength to the method of interpretation that would read it as a divinely told tale. Is there such a manifest revelation in the narrative as to justify the tale being told and embodied in the volume of Scriptures? Any "instruction in righteousness" therein?

The answer is not difficult, nor far to seek. There is no reason for doubting the identity of the prophet with the Jonah of II Kings xiv. 25. nor that the prophet pens his own message. Indeed, in the absence of any contrary proof we accept those positions without reserve. The division of chapters in our version may be taken as properly the quadruple division of the book, and chap iv. as the climacteric teaching, and that teaching may be summed up in the words of the late Dean Stanley:—"It is the rare protest of theology against the excess of theology—it is the faithful delineation, through all its various states, of the dark, sinister, selfish side of even great religious teachers. It is the grand Biblical appeal to the common instincts of humanity, and to the universal love of God, against the narrow dogmatism of sectarian polemics. There has never been a generation which has not needed the majestic revelation of sternness and charity, each bestowed where most deserved and where least expected in the sign of the prophet Jonah."

The prophet's soul was filled with a message for those outside "the covenant of promise"; there was in his heart as it were a burning fire shut up in his bones, he was weary with forbearing, but that deep national prejudice which in after years and under brighter skies so antagonized Paul and dogged him to the death, made a recreant and coward of the prophet; he tried to escape from the unpleasant duty even as Peter when Paul withstood him to the face, the deep compassed his soul, nevertheless as Goethe has it:—

“ A good man, through obscurest aspiration  
Has still an instinct of the one true way.”

He cries unto the Lord and resolves “ I will pay that which I vowed,” and emerges from the very “ belly of sheol ” to declare that :—

“ The love of God is broader than the measure of man’s mind ;  
And the heart of the Eternal is most wonderfully kind.”—

In this form the prophecy is a prevision of “ the dispensation of the mystery which from all ages hath been hid in God who created all things, that the Gentiles are fellow-heirs, and fellow-members of the body, and fellow-partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus through the Gospel.” Whoever reads sympathetically Paul’s glowing faith in the dogmatic chapters of Ephesians will feel that the question of historic accuracy has no more to do in illustrating the revelation of God in Jonah than a tenth magnitude star has in giving light to the earth at noon-day. It was a declaration amidst strictly Jewish surroundings that “ in every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him.” A lesson so thoroughly superhuman, that we, under eighteen centuries of Gospel teaching, are but beginning to learn its breadth and its glow.

JOHN BURTON.

## HUME AND ROUSSEAU.

I.....hinted that I was convinced he (Hume) must be perfectly happy in his new friend, as their religious opinions were, I believed, nearly similar. “ Why no, man,” said he, “ in that you are mistaken. Rousseau is not what you think him. He has a hankering after the Bible, and, indeed, is little better than a Christian, in a way of his own!”—*Jeffrey’s Essay on Lord Charlemont.*

## BOTANICAL CLASSIFICATION.

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THE wonderful advance of scientific discovery during the present century is nowhere more conspicuous than in the domain of botanic investigation, and nowhere have more valuable results rewarded the labors of persevering students. In the sixteenth century, theoretic Botany consisted of a strange combination of *a priori* principles derived from the philosophy of Aristotle—superstitious fancies and wonderful medical prescriptions. The huge tomes which have escaped the ravages of time, and embrace the botanic knowledge of the century, are as remarkable for their poverty of thought, as for the unwearied diligence of their authors in striving to identify the plants of Germany with those mentioned in the corrupt texts of Theophrastus, Dioscorides, Pliny, and Galen, and in collecting the medical superstitions of the earlier centuries. The idea prevailed that the plants described by the ancient Greek physicians must grow throughout Europe, and as each writer identified a different plant with some mentioned by Dioscorides or Theophrastus, the confusion of nomenclature that ensued became exceedingly perplexing, and earnest searchers after botanic knowledge were, at length, compelled to abandon the fanciful and often unintelligible descriptions of their predecessors, and to go directly to nature to collect and describe the plants growing around them. Carefully executed woodcuts were also produced and the means for identification secured. A long step in advance was made when the fanciful figures and superstitious fictions of the “Hortus Sanitatis” (Garden of Health)—the great repository of the popular knowledge of Natural History about 1500—were quietly ignored, and men looked to nature for their facts and for models for their figures. No scientific investigations respecting the nature of plants—their peculiar organization, or their mutual relations were indulged in; the only object aimed at being the identification of individual forms and the discovery of their medicinal properties. But much was gained when students began to look at plants with open eyes and to derive pleasure from the contemplation of their variety and beauty.

Careful examination of single forms gradually led to the perception of unsought-for truths; and points of resemblance between different plants, which had no relation to their medicinal powers, gradually forced themselves upon the thoughtful mind. The perception of natural affinities awakened an undefined feeling that plants existed in groups, such as Mosses, Ferns, Grasses, Coniferæ, just as the groups of mammals, birds, reptiles, fishes, and worms existed in the animal kingdom. The relationship was instinctively felt, but all enquiry as to its cause was unthought of and left for after generations to discover. The establishment of Botanic gardens in the sixteenth century, and the collection of specimens for the formation of herbaria, contributed largely to increase the knowledge of plants.

The scientific value of the work performed in this century consisted in the accurate description, by each botanist, of the individual plants which attracted his notice within the range of his observations in his native land. Later writers endeavored to gather up all the information that existed into a systematic form, including not only all the plants they had themselves examined, but also all described by others. Each systematist gave a universal character to his work, but its special value depended upon the accuracy and extent of his own personal observations, rather than upon what he derived from the accumulations of his predecessors.

The desire to discover and describe new and hitherto unknown plants acted as a powerful incentive to field work, and the number of new forms described, rapidly increased. Sachs informs us (*History of Botany*) that in 1542, Fuchs had described and figured about five hundred species, but "in 1623, the number of species enumerated by Kaspar Bauhin had risen to 6000." Botanists travelled over a large part of Germany, into Italy, along the Rhine, and even into the mountains of Spain, collecting and describing the flora of the regions through which they passed. Many valuable facts were accumulated, the art of description greatly improved, but no botanical terminology and no scientific method of separating the different members of plants and depicting their characters had yet been discovered or invented.

The work of systematic classification can scarcely be said to

have begun till the seventeenth century. The first attempts were exceedingly rude. The division of plants into trees, shrubs, undershrubs, and herbs, which had been handed down from the ancients was universally employed. Trees were regarded as the most perfect plants. The flower and fruit had not been examined with sufficient care to discover their value for purposes of classification, and the idea of species as distinct from genera or families is a refinement of later times. All attempts at a natural system of classification were retarded by the existence of two opposing and irreconcilable principles which struggled for supremacy. While the Botanists of Germany and the Netherlands indistinctly felt the existence of a natural affinity which they attempted to express in their classifications, Cesalpino and his followers, deeply versed in the doctrines of Aristotle, and imbued with the subtleties of the schoolmen, sought a distribution of the vegetable kingdom into groups and sub-groups which would accord with Aristotelian conceptions and satisfy the philosophic understanding. That these two elements were entirely incommensurable was strongly expressed in the fifteen different systems, including that of Linnaeus (1736), that were elaborated to embrace the whole vegetable kingdom. The different organs of the plant, such as, the root, calyx, corolla, fruit and others, were adopted as the fundamental element upon which to rear a classification upon philosophic principles. Linnaeus clearly saw the difficulty resulting from the existence of these two elements, and distinctly stated that a natural system of plants existed, but that the limits of groups could not be fixed by pre-determined marks. He succeeded in forming a list of sixty-five natural families or orders, without however, clearly defining their limits. But the idea of a common type lying at the basis of each group, from which all the species included in it might be derived, was now recognized, and became a guiding principle in all future systematic work.

Lengthy discussions on the seat of the soul in plants, and its powers or properties, cumber the volumes of the old Botanists, down to the last century. A single extract from Cesalpino, the most philosophic and learned botanist of his time, may interest the reader. "Whether any one part in plants can be assigned as the seat of the soul, such as the heart in animals, is a matter for consideration—for since the soul is the active principle of the



organic body, it can neither be 'tota in toto' nor 'tota in singulis partibus'; but entirely in some one and chief part, from which life is distributed to the other dependent parts. If the function of the root is to draw food from the earth, and of the stem to bear the seeds, and the two cannot exchange functions, so that the root should bear seeds and the shoot penetrate into the earth, there must either be two souls different in kind and separate in place, the one residing in the root, the other in the shoot, or there must be only one, which supplies both with their peculiar capabilities. But that there are not two souls of different kinds and in a different part of each plant, may be argued thus; we often see a root cut off from a plant send forth a shoot, and in like manner a branch cut off send a root into the ground, as though there were a soul indivisible in its kind present in both parts. But this would seem to show that the whole soul is present in both parts, and that it is wholly in the whole plant, if there were not this objection that, as we find in many cases, the capabilities are distributed between the two parts in such a way that the shoot, though buried in the ground, never sends out roots, for example in Pine and Fir, in which plants also the roots that are cut off perish." Thus he proves the existence of only one soul in root and stem. (Sachs, History of Botany.)

The progress of Science based upon experiment during the last century gradually displaced this learned trifling; we now find it difficult to believe that it ever existed.

During the last century, while the doctrine of natural affinity was becoming more and more impressed upon the minds of investigators as a true guide for the classification of organic objects, "the fact of affinity became itself more unintelligible and mysterious." The belief in the fixity of species, adopted and explained by Linnaeus, became an article of faith among men of science and theologians. Every species of organism was believed to owe its existence to a special creative act. Hence all attempts to explain natural affinity or relationship; only involved it in deeper mystery. Systematists were unable to resist the feeling that affinity existed, but what could it mean in the presence of the belief of an absolute difference of origin in species? Subtle intellects found a philosophic justification for holding both doctrines by misinterpreting Plato's doctrine of ideas. But thoughtful

workers felt compelled to doubt the truth of their own acknowledged principles. They followed the guidance of affinity in the prosecution of their work, but felt the impossibility of giving a scientific definition of it whilst they held to the constancy of species.

This condition of things had existed for more than a century when Darwin's "Origin of Species" appeared (1859). He showed from a vast accumulation of facts, many of them long well-known, that the belief in the fixity of species was not based upon accurate and careful observation, but was rather opposed to it. Natural affinity was now defined and its origin explained. A new light dawned upon the work of the Systematist. Affinity is now recognized as a true (genetic) blood-relationship. The natural system of classification expresses "the different degrees of derivation of the varying progeny of common parents," and is "a table of the pedigree of the vegetable kingdom. Here was the solution of the ancient problem."

The two following principles are now universally adopted as the basis of Natural Classification in both the vegetable and animal kingdoms:—I. The things classified are arranged (Huxley, *Anat. Invert.* p. 23) according to the totality of their morphological resemblances, and the features which are taken as the marks of groups are those which have been ascertained by observation to be the indications of many likenesses and unlikenesses. The Classification is thus a statement of the marks of similarity of organization; of the kinds of structure, which as a matter of experience are found universally associated. II. Not only the adult characters of living objects are taken into account, but their embryonic characters are regarded as of equal importance. We must know the differences and resemblances between full grown plants, and also the differences and resemblances between them during the period of their embryonic life, and the successive stages of their whole existence. In other words, we must know all the characters presented by each organism during its whole life.

A Classification based upon these principles will express genetic relation, that is, the genealogy of plants or animals, as far as can be ascertained by present methods of investigation.

J. FOWLER.

## "CHRISTIANITY'S MILLSTONE"—A REJOINDER.

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DR. GOLDWIN SMITH'S article in the December issue of the *North American Review* will be regarded by mere railers at the Bible as a sufficiently sweeping arraignment of the morality and historical truthfulness of the Old Testament. Yet the most uncompromising believer in the supernatural character of the Old Testament cannot but recognize that Dr. Smith himself is no railer, and that his article is a sincere and reverent effort at setting Christianity free from a burden, in Dr. Smith's opinion, too heavy for it to bear.

The difficulties which have to be faced by those who uphold the inspiration of the Old Testament are no doubt formidable,—both the ethical and historical. Many of us, however, who have discarded the theory of verbal inspiration or "inerrancy" do not feel it necessary or justifiable to rush to the other extreme and peremptorily settle a vexed question by denying to the Old Testament any inspiration. A final determination of the exact value of all the books which make up the literature known as the Old Testament may not be possible for this age. The Higher Criticism and archaeological research of this generation are, probably, Moses-like, guiding to a truer theory and interpretation of that literature than this generation will attain. Some general conclusions, however, are possible to us which further knowledge will only make surer and more definite. And these I do not think Dr. Smith has stated.

My aim then in this article is not to define inspiration, nor to attempt to justify all those statements and teachings of the Old Testament which Dr. Smith believes to be incompatible with a supernatural origin. I think indeed that Dr. Smith's attitude to many of these is that of a special pleader and not of a judge, and that many of them have been shown to be susceptible of a very different interpretation from that given in his article. But my aim is merely to show, and partly from Dr. Smith's own admissions, that there is a uniqueness in the history of the Hebrew people which can only be reasonably attributed to a special super-

natural guidance; and that the Old Testament literature is so bound up with the history of that people that it cannot be denied a share in this unique character.

Dr. Smith recognises the ascent of the Hebrew people from polytheism and idolatry to "monotheism of an eminently pure and exalted type," and he further declares this ascent to be "a historical mystery."

That is a large admission, and deserves to be considered.

This religious development is certainly a unique fact. There is no other instance known to us of a nation rising of itself from polytheistic idolatry to a pure and controlling monotheism, Mohammedanism being of course only an offshoot from Judaism and Christianity.

The Vedantic faith of India seems to have undergone a development the reverse of what took place among the Hebrews, in its earliest forms approximating to monotheism. The monotheists of the Brahmo-Somaj claim that in protesting against the polytheism of the current Brahminism they are reviving the primitive faith.

Greek and Roman polytheism underwent, it is true, a purifying process, but the purifying process was at the same time an evaporating one. The old beliefs were undermined by a philosophic scepticism which discarded all religion, and by an ethical development which somehow never secured any practical control of the people. In short, the philosophical and ethical speculation that purified the earlier grosser religion killed it, and the remarkable fact came about that when the ethical and religious thought of the Greco-Roman world was at its highest, the current morality was at its lowest.

How comes it that only among the Hebrews does "a pure and elevated monotheism" win its way to complete popular ascendancy? There does not seem to have been in them any inherent tendency to monotheism. In their earlier history they are continually falling back again into idolatry. One of their prophets, even in so late an age as the one preceding the Babylonish captivity, arraigns them as of all nations the most unsteadfast in their religious loyalty.

And yet a wayward and intractable people steadily wins its way upward. Ever nobler conceptions of God appear and pre-

vail. A people that took up new idolatries, as the fashionable world of today takes up fashions and fads, becomes fiercely intolerant of every suggestion of idolatry. What other pre-Christian people can measure in its history the difference between the Hebrews who danced before the golden calf and in the days of the kingdom followed after Baal and Ashtoreth and Chemosh, and the Hebrews after the bitter discipline of the Babylonish exile, when the central principle and the rallying point of the nation was a stern and passionate abhorrence of idolatry! Let the heroic struggle of the Maccabees bear witness to a hatred of idolatry shown by no other people.

Let two scenes from Josephus also bear witness. During the procuratorship of Pilate the winter quarters of the Roman army were transferred from Caesarea to Jerusalem, and a collision instantly occurred. The Roman standards—images of the emperor and of the eagle—had been hitherto kept out of the city, and on this occasion Pilate had sent them in by night. But when the people discovered what had been done they rose in fury, and pouring down in crowds to Caesarea, where Pilate was then residing, besought him to remove the images. After five days of discussion the procurator gave the signal to some concealed soldiers to surround the petitioners and to put them to death unless they ceased to trouble him; but they declared themselves ready to submit to death rather than to cease their resistance to an idolatrous innovation. Pilate was constrained to yield, and by his orders the standards were brought down to Caesarea. (*Josephus, Ant. xviii. 3 § 1.*)

The spirit of the people was again displayed when Caligula, enforcing the worship of himself through the empire, issued an edict for the dedication of the Temple at Jerusalem to himself and for the erection of a colossal statue of himself in the Holy of Holies; and further directed that two legions should be withdrawn, if necessary, from the Euphrates to put down resistance. No sooner had the Jews, through the prefect Petronius, become aware of the emperor's purpose than without distinction of rank, age, or sex, they flocked unarmed in thousands to Ptolemais to let the prefect know that they dreaded the wrath of God more than that of the emperor. When Petronius removed to Tiberias the like scene was repeated. For forty days the people remained

as suppliants before the prefect, neglecting the season for sowing till he became fearful of a famine, and postponed the work till he had further orders from Rome. During the interval the influence of Agrippa with the emperor procured a revocation of the edict. (*Josephus, Ant. xviii. 8.*)

Polygamous idolators, the Hebrews grew out of polygamy, out of idolatry, out of sensuous ritualistic conceptions of worship into the noble ideal which Micah sets forth in that still timely passage in which ritual and sacrifice are declared to be inferior to justice, mercy and humility. (*Micah vi. 6-8.*)

The Hebrews still stand as representatives of spirituality. No other sacred literature of antiquity furnishes us with manuals of devotion like the Psalms and the Prophecies. "Marvellous, too," as Robertson of Brighton finely says (*Lectures on the Epistles to the Corinthians*, Lect. xxxii.) "was the combination in the Hebrews of the Asiatic veneration—of religious awe and contemplation—with the stern moral sense which belongs to the more northern nations. You will find among Hindoos a sense of the invisible as strong, and among the German family of nations an integrity as severe, but nowhere will you find the two so united as in the history of the chosen people."

They reached a conception of the glory and greatness and holiness of God unsurpassed since, to which Christ could only add a tenderness and nearness. "We owe to the Semitic race," says Renan in his lecture on *The Share of the Semitic People in the History of Civilisation*, "neither political life, art, poetry, philosophy, nor science. We owe to them religion. The whole world—we except India, China, Japan, and tribes altogether savage—has adopted the Semitic religions."

The religious development of the Hebrew people was closely connected with the prophetic order, another unique feature in their history. On it I need not dwell. Dr. Smith has pointed out its remarkableness. He says: "But we shall hardly find anywhere a moral force equal in intensity to that of the Hebrew prophets, narrowly local and national though their preaching is." I think we are justified in substituting "nowhere" for "hardly anywhere." Moreover, to complain that the prophets were "local and national" is to blame them for not being Christian before Christianity had appeared.

After a discussion of the prophetic and priestly offices in Chap. V. of *Physics and Politics*, Walter Bagehot continues: "But the peculiarity of Judea—a peculiarity which I do not pretend for a moment that I can explain—is that the prophetic revelations are, taken as a whole, indisputably improvements; that they contain, as time goes on, at each succeeding epoch higher and better views of religion."

Here confronts us then this fact—a religious progress not paralleled in the history of nations. Theirs is a history of moral decay, China excepted, and hers is a history of petrification. How came it that Israel pressed on, while other races fell back or stood still? As idolatrous, savage and sensuous as their neighbors, again and again falling back, yet lifted on and up as it were in spite of themselves. "The religion of the Bible," says Newman Smyth, "makes head against the natural gravitation of Israelitish history." (*Old Faiths in a New Light*, Ch. II.)

So a tree lifts itself up in defiance of gravitation, but a stone does not. In comparison with the stone there is in the tree a supernatural force.

Dr. Smith is content to call this development "a historical mystery." Till a more positive solution is given, others will see in it God, and will assent to the claim of the author of Deuteronomy, who charges the people to keep the statutes and judgments of Jehovah, "for this is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the nations, which shall hear all these statutes, and say, Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people. For what nation is there so great who hath God so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is in all things that we call upon him for? And what nation is there so great, that hath statutes and judgments so righteous as all this law, which I set before you this day?"

When in England the hedges are all abloom, and from countless larks lost in the blue music is raining on the lush grass of the meadows, Labrador still lies wrapped in winter's shroud, the ice in her bays unbroken, and the dreary flocks drifting down past her desolate coast. Yet, Labrador and England stretch between the same parallels of latitude. To one who ignored the Gulf stream the difference would be "a climatic mystery." As clearly as the British isles show the influence of that strange river in the ocean,

does the religious development of Israel show the working of a Gulf stream of divine influence. The exact nature and limits of that influence we may not yet be able to determine, but we can well accept the statement of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, that God did "in sundry parts and in divers manners" speak unto the people "in the prophets."

Max Muller discusses the question how the Hebrews first obtained and so persistently clung to their peculiar monotheistic belief. After examining and dismissing various natural explanations, he concludes: "If we are asked how it was that Abraham possessed not only the primitive conception of the divinity as He had revealed Himself to all mankind, but passed, through the denial of all other gods, to the knowledge of the One God, we are content to answer that it was by a special divine revelation." (*Chips From a German Workshop*, I., p. 372.)

So the question whether God is in any special way revealed in the Old Testament is inseparably bound up with another question, whether God is in any special way revealed in the history of Israel—and that is a question much more difficult to answer in the negative. Whether or not the Old Testament has anything of the nature of a miracle in it, Jewish history has. And if it be clear that there was a supernatural element in Hebrew history, it is not so difficult to see a supernatural element in the Hebrew scriptures, which are in relation to Hebrew development at once a result and a cause.

So when men have fully ventilated the "Mistakes of Moses," waxed righteously indignant over the wars of the Hebrews and the stern commands of the Mosaic code, they have only severed side-roots of the divine character of the Bible. The tap-root is untouched. Newman Smyth rightly characterises such discussion as "the small dust of biblical criticism," and compares the one who "throws it in our faces and then asks us what has become of the Word of God" to the man "who should toss a spadeful of sand, scraped from the surface of the rock, into the air, and ask, as we rub our eyes, what has become of the world." (*Old Faiths in a New Light*, Chap. II.)

But the supernatural character of the Old Testament is established not only in its vital and inseparable connection with the supernatural development of Israel, but in its vital and inseparable



able connection with the New Testament and Christianity. I assume here a divine Christ and an inspired New Testament. I am attempting to defend the supernatural element in the Old Testament only. When the inspiration of the New Testament is denied, it is obviously a waste of effort to try to establish that of the Old. And when the supernaturalness of Jesus of Nazareth is not recognised, it is of little use to try to vindicate any supernaturalness in the writings of His apostles. The supernaturalness of Jesus is at once the most essential doctrine of Christianity and the most defensible. But mine is the limited and subordinate work of trying to show that Christianity need not repudiate the Old Testament.

It not only need not but cannot. The New and the Old Testaments are inseparable. The roots of the one run down into the other. The one is inexplicable without the other. It is impossible to separate the historical Christ from the Messianic hope.

This hope Dr. Smith dismisses in a paragraph. "The Evangelists, simple-minded, find in the sacred books of their nation prognostications of the character and mission of Jesus. . . . No real and specific prediction of the advent of Jesus, or of any event in his life, can be produced from the books of the Old Testament. At most we find passages or phrases which are capable of a spiritual application, and in that metaphorical sense, prophetic, etc."

That is surely an extraordinary way of dismissing the most remarkable feature in Israel's national life. The Jews of our Lord's day seem to have thought that the Old Testament scriptures revealed clearly enough that a descendant of David was to be born in Bethlehem who was to attain dominion over all the world. (Matt. II., 4-6; XXII., 41-42. John VI., 14-15; VII., 41-42.)

But apart from specific predictions, how explain the forward look of the Hebrew people, an expectation of future dominion and glory, unaccountable in so insignificant a people, and still more unaccountable in any natural way in its fulfilment in the increasing ascendancy of the Jew, Jesus of Nazareth? That hope runs through the Old Testament like a spinal cord. Through centuries of national decay it shines with a steadfast light. Only

among a people fashioned by the Old Testament could Jesus Christ have appeared. Only such a people could have furnished him with his apostles. The Old Testament is the husk in which Christianity grew to ripeness. If the one be supernatural, so, though not necessarily in the same degree, must be the other. The Old Testament is not the millstone of Christianity, but the foundation of it. It contains Christianity in the germ. To recognise the supernatural in Christianity (as I assume Dr. Smith does or he might as well let it sink with the Old Testament) and to deny it in the history of the people from which Christianity sprang and in the literature which made that people what it was, is to ignore the Christianity of history.

These considerations are not a detailed reply to Dr. Smith's criticisms of the Old Testament, but when they are fully considered they make much of such criticism superficial. And familiarity with the divine method of development in nature and in human history makes much of such criticism not only superficial but out-of-place. Nothing ever appears ready made. Everything grows. The advance is from the imperfect and the rude. To deny that the God of the New Testament had anything to do with the Old Testament is as reasonable as to deny that the God who made man had anything to do with the creation of those

"dragons of the prime  
That tare each other in their slime."

The mesozoic world was certainly very unlike the world of to-day, but it was the indispensable forerunner of it.

The Old Testament is the record of the education of a race. The world has been made in stages. We need not wonder that the moral education of the race has proceeded in stages also. Children and child-races have many foolish and disagreeable ways. We do not expect polished manners in a healthy, vigorous schoolboy, nor have we even equal right to expect a perfect morality in the primitive Hebrews. Child races have to be taught as children in child fashion. They cannot learn everything at once. The teacher must for a time tolerate many faults. He must give teaching in a form which would be harmful or ridiculous if used to more advanced pupils. Much of the teaching will have only a temporary value. No one who accepts Paul

or the writer of the Letter to the Hebrews as his teacher need deny that "there is a disannulling of a foregoing commandment, because of its weakness and unprofitableness."

The Old Testament did the rough-hewing of the Hebrew people. And the rough-hewing is not the same as the finishing process. The first business of a moral teacher in old Fiji was not to teach his pupils not to put their knives in their mouths when eating, but not to put shipwrecked sailors there. Humanity first, then etiquette. Long ago in his *Confessions*, St. Augustine observed that "Sins of men, who are on the whole making proficiency, which by these that judge rightly are blamed after the rule of perfection, are nevertheless commended in the hope of future fruit, as is the green blade from which the growing corn is looked for."

Indians do not object to the wars of Joshua. The most refined and highly civilised Romans objected strongly to the Cross, but not to the imperfect morality, the polygamy, the slavery of the Old Testament. Only in Bible-saturated lands is the Bible criticised. It has itself created the light by which it is judged. The ethical objections urged against the Bible to-day are the most convincing proof that the Bible has succeeded. And now that the race has slowly climbed up out of savagery by the help of the Old Testament, some members of it would kick down the ladder by which it has ascended.

We have seen children reared in all the advantages of wealth, somewhat ashamed of their rough-handed, unschooled father, who could not admire Wagner nor understand Browning, but on whose energy nevertheless all the fair fabric of their culture rested.

It is open to question whether the kicking down of the ladder is not inexpedient as well as unjust. The ladder may be useful yet. The characteristic influence of the Old Testament is still of value.

The history of the race is mirrored in that of the individual; and as the race was led through the Old Testament to the New so ought the individual. The Old Testament is the true door to Christ.

Nowhere in the New Testament can be found such awe-inspiring representations of God as are to be found in the Old

Testament. The Old Testament is the literature of law and reverence. The Puritans and that "fanatical Scotch Calvinist" of Macaulay did not perhaps always yield themselves to the characteristic influences of the New Testament as fully as they might have done. But I do not know that they or their descendants need be greatly ashamed of the part the Old Testament played in their lives. What races to-day surpass them in the qualities precisely the most needed on this continent? They needed men of the "sweet reasonableness" of Christianity, but this age surely needs nothing so much as the qualities which may fairly be attributed to the Old Testament. Veneration for age or obedience to authority are not so excessive that even the old story of the mocking young men and the she-bears is altogether superfluous.

The Old Testament, however, is a book for children, for other reasons than because of its power to subdue and give what Goethe said was the best thing in life,—“the thrill of awe.” It is fascinating in its stories. These educate that precious sense, the sense of wonder (another faculty not too luxuriant to-day), as delightfully as fairy stories. But the fairy stories of the Old Testament have this advantage: they are saturated with moral teaching. They develop the conscience as well as the imagination.

Beecher was not exactly either a Puritan or a Calvinist, but he warned parents not to be fearful of letting their children go to the Old Testament. The children who were shut out from the Old Testament, he declared, would not be half as strong as they would otherwise be. (*Lects. on Preaching*, 3rd series lect. V.)

In a familiar passage the late Professor Huxley confessed his perplexity “to know by what practical measures the religious feeling, which is the essential basis of conduct, was to be kept up in the present utterly chaotic state of opinion on these matters, without the use of the Bible. . . . By the study of what other book could children be so much humanized?”

When John Ruskin was twelve years of age, he and his mother had read the Bible through six times together, skipping nothing, and he had committed large portions of it to memory. And this morning exercise he has in later years told us he counts very

confidently the most precious, and on the whole, "the one essential part of my education."

I can only briefly refer to two or three other remarkable features of the Old Testament.

The hygienic and moral value of the Mosaic code is evidenced in the persistence and energy of what is probably the most vigorous race on earth to-day, a race still trained on Old Testament principles and amongst which is little crime, no pauperism, and an entire absence of prevalent sins against marriage and parenthood. The Old Testament through the Jew has still some teaching for the New Testament peoples.

Some modern science dissents from the cosmogony of Genesis. But what other cosmogony would it condescend to attack? I do not suppose that the first chapter of Genesis was intended to teach geology. It had a purely religious aim. But the harmony between the broad outlines of that chapter and the general conclusions of modern science is remarkable enough to justify scientific men in considering that only divine revelation can account for such an anticipation of modern geology in a childish and unscientific age. "The ancient and venerable record," says Fichte (quoted by Geikie in *Hours With the Bible*, I., p. 129) "contains the profoundest and the loftiest wisdom, and presents those results to which all philosophy must at last return."

Remarkable however as is its cosmogony, the Old Testament is perhaps more wonderful for the things that are not in it than for those that are.

The other ancient cosmogonies are full of the crudest and strangest fancies,—worlds supported on the back of a tortoise, hatched out of an egg, fashioned out of a little mud which the Creator, to whom are ascribed all manner of forms from man to muskrat, brings up from the bottom of the primeval sea. How comes it that the Old Testament cosmogony is a great deal more unlike these than it is unlike modern science?

And how comes it that while astrology, that most foundationless of all great delusions, prevailed among all the civilized peoples of antiquity and even in Europe down almost to our own day, it never makes its appearance in the Old Testament save to be condemned?

The conclusion seems to me irresistible that while the Old

Testament uses the common language of men and does not profess to be a scientific manual, its writers, in regard to a multitude of matters on which the thought of their age was hopelessly astray, were influenced by a restraint which must be credited to a divine guidance.

Dr. Smith's article is representative of a criticism of the Old Testament which marks a reaction from the superstitious reverence of the past. Like all recoils from exaggeration this movement is itself an exaggeration. We may hope that we are nearing a time when without claiming divine dictation or authority for every statement in the Old Testament we can heartily and reverently recognise, that in a sense distinct from all other ancient literature, it does contain divine revelations and that it is the record and the chief instrument in the peculiar religious education of a race destined by Divine Providence to be the religious educators of the world.

S. G. BLAND.

Cornwall.

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"MUCH HE WHOSE FRIENDSHIP I NOT LONG SINCE WON."

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Quemadmodum in navigando, ubi stationem navis nacta est, si aquatum exieris, fit obiter quidem ut cochleolam colligas aut bulbulum; animo autem in navigium intento esse oportet, et continenter respicere, an gubernator vocet; et tum illa omnia relinquere oportet, ne vinctus, ad instar ovium, in navem conjiciaris. Sic quoque in vita, si pro bulbo et cochleola, uxorcula et puellus detur, nihil prohibebit. Cum autem gubernator vocarit, curre ad navim, relictis illis omnibus, nihil respiciendo. Quod si senex sis, cave unquam longius a nave recedas, ne quando vocatus deficias.—*Epicteti Enchiridion. Latine Redditum.*

## A GENERAL VIEW OF SOCIALISTIC SCHEMES.

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IT will be well at the outset to define what is meant by the term "socialism," as it is understood in the work of Mr. Rae, or as defined by other writers on the subject.

"By socialism we understand any theory or system of social organization, which would abolish in whole, or in great part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute for it co-operative action;" (Century Dictionary); or

"All aspiration toward the improvement of society." (Proudhon.)

Others limit this to "All aspiration toward the improvement of society by society."

"True socialism is the final suspension of that personal struggle for existence which has been waged, not only from the beginning of society, but in one form or another from the beginning of life." (Kidd's Social Evolution.)

"The minimum of socialism is that the State owes a special duty of protection to laborers because they are poor, in order to secure to them a more equitable part in the product of general labor." (Limousin.)

"Socialism is the employment of the State for the instant accomplishment of ideal schemes, which is the invariable attribute of all projects generally regarded as Socialistic." (Cairnes.)

Sometimes socialism has been confounded with Democracy, or at least that socialism has been held to be the inevitable result of Democracy, but Mr. Rae shows very clearly from the history of Democracy in America for the past one hundred years that it has no necessary connection with socialism.

Society, says a recent writer, is in a state of transition. While it is passing through this unstable stage it will afford ample opportunity for the enthusiasm of the philanthropist to spend itself for the good of humanity, or it will be seized by the passionate multitude as the sure and early promise of the coming millennium. A great change has taken place in the last quarter

of a century as regards the methods of socialism. The school of Owen, Fourier and others is gone. The doctrine of co-operation, or of State help, is laid aside. Such is not now thorough enough. It does not strike at the root of the many ills to which society is heir. The kindly disposed philanthropist who strove to ameliorate the sufferings of his fellows may still pursue his charitable course, but according to present-day views he is far behind, and is no longer expected to be a factor in the changes that are to come in society. Socialists have in a large measure directed their forces to the overthrow of governments and rulers. They want a state in which power and property will be based on labor, because the wealth of a nation belongs to the hands that made it, and the State is merely the organized will of the people. There are two branches of socialism proper—Collectiveism and Anarchism—the one aiming at a strong centralized government and the other at the abolition of all superior government, i. e. anarchy in its gentler sense, because it would still maintain some form of government in each district or community. Both branches advocate—not the gradual amelioration of abuses—but a radical overthrow by the state of that which is now unjust, especially with regard to the rewards of labor. Socialism then means the political reorganization of society in such a way as will give justice to all toilers and that quickly. The idea is not that of change from good to better, but from bad to better; from injustice to justice; from the state as inherently wrong, to the state as inherently right. It has little or no sympathy with the State-socialism of Prince Bismarck and the German Emperor. Paternalism in the state is not its aim. Man in these latter days has been made free, and the next step is to give him the product of his own labor. To bring about this radical change in society social democracy advocates political and revolutionary methods. In no country have there been made more energetic attempts to launch socialistic schemes than in Germany. It is true that the principles of social democracy have been before the world ever since the time of the French Revolution in 1789, when Rousseau, the apostle of the new Evangel, taught that "man had a natural right to whatever he needed and he who had more than he needed was a thief." The individual therefore is nothing and the state is everything. All private rights were to be done away with by



Baboeuf, and community of goods was to be the ground principle of society. Appropriation was to be strictly within the bounds of need. Mr. Rae draws a strong distinction between the Revolution in France and that in America. 'In the latter the people had always access to the soil, and what they wanted and obtained was not personal liberty and equality, but political freedom. In the former he says freedom has been really less desired than power. The Revolution in France introduced democracy with as strong a centralized government or central power as that which existed before the Empire fell. Democracy, however, as it obtained in France, or other parts of Europe, has greatly influenced and developed socialistic tendencies, for, when power is the possession of the many and property the possession of the few, there is continually the desire on the part of those who have the power to take strong measures to secure the property as well. There is no doubt that the overthrow of feudalism in France at the end of the last century was a benefit to mankind, and the demands of the people for greater power can often be justified, especially when the wealth of a country becomes the property of the few by unjust laws, or tyrannical customs. Therefore we may expect to find socialism more fully organized, (1) Where wealth and comfort are badly distributed, (2) Where social questions are already widespread and discussed among the masses, (3) Where previous revolutions left matters in a state of constant unrest. We find the most highly organized system of socialism in Germany. In 1875 six million persons in Germany, representing over one-half the population, had an income less than \$105.00 a year each, and only 140,000 had incomes above \$750.00. The number of land owners is indeed large, being in 1861 two millions out of twenty-three millions, but the relief such a comparatively large proprietorship might give is reduced to the vanishing point when it is learned that very many have not enough land on which to make even a scanty living. Hence the great object of socialism in Germany is to get control of the land. The leaders of the movement have attempted to arouse the interest and co-operation of the agricultural class. The towns are well inoculated with the new doctrine, but the farmers are harder to reach. Perhaps they read less and think more than their town cousins. At any rate no progress can be made until social-

ism has converted the peasantry. If there is to be a revolution in landed property it must be brought about by the dissatisfaction and revolt of the farm laboring portion of the people. The increase of late years in the Social Democratic party in Germany has been very marked. In 1871 there were 101,917, in 1890 there were 1,427,000. But their strength was almost entirely in the towns. In order to propagate their views they have nineteen daily and forty weekly newspapers with a total circulation of 254,000. The annual income of the party is about \$100,000. The catch word of the Social Democrats, as expressed by Liebknecht, is "Peasant-fishery and elector-fishery." Agitation is kept up and wherever probable, like the Patron movement in Canada, a candidate is brought forward for the Reichstag. Congresses are held and programmes announced of great diversity, to suit the wants of to-day, to-morrow and the day after to-morrow. To reach the final stage of socialism, namely, that the people may own everything, it may be necessary to pass through the preparatory stage of co-operative societies founded on state credit. The goal is public property, but the road to it leads through private property, via corporate property. The Gotha Congress of 1875 laid down the following programme: (1) "Labor is the source of all wealth and civilization, and since productive labor as a whole is made possible only in and through society, the entire product of labor belongs to society." Hence labor must be delivered from its dependence on capital, which monopolizes the instruments of labor, and hence also labor must be emancipated by the laboring classes themselves, as all other classes are by nature and custom opposed to them.

(2) "The Socialistic Labor party of Germany seeks by all lawful means to establish a free state in a socialistic society, to break asunder the iron law of wages by the abolition of the system of wage-labor, the suppression of every form of exploitation, and the correction of all social and political inequality. It extends its obligations so as to include the international labor movement in order to realize the brotherhood of man. This party demands as the basis of the state: (a) Universal equal and direct suffrage, secret and obligatory voting of all over twenty years of age, election day to be Sunday or a holiday. (b) Direct legislation by the people; peace or war to be decided by the people. (c) Uni-

versal liability to military service—no standing army, but militia instead. (d) The abolition of all laws against the free expression of opinion, free thought and free inquiry. (e) Administration of justice by the people. Gratuitous justice. (f) Universal compulsory, gratuitous and equal education of the people by the state. Religion to be wholly a private matter. The latest demand is to have an eight-hour system and a period of thirty-six hours' continuous, uninterrupted rest every week. At some recent meetings a few members desired to proceed to revolution without lawful means, but wiser counsel prevailed, and a moderate course of lawful means expresses the trend of the party's feelings. The majority saw that nothing could be gained by throwing bombs, for they had only twenty per cent of the population. Force must therefore give way to reason, and with united front all go forward to convert the indifferent. They must not even take the old course of fighting the Church, but maintain a policy of religious neutrality and toleration. If the state fall the Church and priestcraft will fall with it of course, but not until then. Propagandism by means of meetings, addresses, the press, and any and all means of giving information is the main method now, and that recourse to strikes or boycotting should never be resorted to unless after the greatest provocation.

In France socialism is not so united as in Germany, and is confined mainly to the large towns. Many of the French artisans are socialists. Revolution is their natural inheritance for the last hundred years, and their social condition and habits of life tend to make them susceptible to any proposed plan of improvement which may be taken up, followed awhile, and discarded for the next nostrum offered in the social pharmacopœia. The strongest bulwark against the progress of socialistic views in France is in her peasant proprietors, who have been often upheld before other countries for general admiration. A change for the worse, however, if reports be true, has been coming over the French peasantry in the fact that intemperance prevails to a much greater degree than formerly. They can be comparatively comfortable without excessive effort, and if they remain so socialism will have nothing in them. The different groups of socialists in France are believers in the scientific socialism of

Karl Marx and Lasalle. They are mainly represented in Communards, Co-operationists, and Anarchists. The socialistic movement in that country, as expressed by the majority of the Havre Congress in 1880, aimed at transferring all instruments of production to the possession of the Community by making use of the working class as an organized and independent political party. In this way it was thought much would be accomplished, but at a meeting two years afterwards the socialists broke up into two fragments—one, the Guesdists, accepting Karl Marx, *i.e.* universal revolution, the centralized socialistic state, the notion of surplus value, and the right to the full product of labor—the other, the Broussists, accepting decentralization and the municipalizing of industries rather than the naturalizing of them. They would have the Commune control its own police, soldiers and civic administration. Besides the groups mentioned there is the Parliamentary party, claiming to be truly socialistic, which was founded in 1887, and which sent thirty candidates to the Legislative Chamber in 1889. It advocates the transformation of industrial monopolies into public services, directed by their respective companies, and under the control of the public administration—progressive nationalization of property—abolition of standing armies and capital punishment, universal suffrage, minority representation, abolition of indirect taxes and customs, sexual equality, free education, primary, secondary and technical; progressive income tax, superannuation, sick and accident insurance at the public expense.

In Austria socialism has not made the same progress as in Germany, unless among the German-speaking portion of the population. So far it adheres entirely to peaceful methods, and repudiates anarchism. The progress of socialism in Austria is counteracted, no doubt, by the fact that the question is largely an agrarian one, wherein State help for labor is laid down as a demand along with a reduction of taxes and other reforms. Then again the Catholic socialistic movement in that country, led by clergy and nobility, divides the interest which otherwise would fall to the more radical German ideas.

In Russia the form in which socialism has been best known to the world is nihilism. The emancipation of the serfs some years ago was thought to be the death-blow of socialism for many

years. But this hope has not been realized from the fact that the amount each peasant has to pay for his right to the land is so heavy that unless he can make money in other ways than farming he is forced to give up his communal rights. Poverty is therefore forced upon the emancipated serf by the heavy taxation laid upon the peasantry while many of the upper classes go free. Then again, the Emancipation Act stranded many of the poorer gentry. The land being too poor to pay hired labor, discontent arose among the small land-owners, who were compelled to sell. This discontent found its way from many Russian communities into the army and the universities. Thus the ground was in good condition for the seed of a new order of things proposed by the young Hegelians, Herzen and Bakunin. This new doctrine was to do away with all authority in government, human or divine, in order to realize both the Revolution and Christianity. "Christianity," said Herzen, "made the slave a son of man, the Revolution has made him a citizen, socialism will make him a man." Siberian exile, the despotism of the Czar and Russian bureaucracy have only added fuel to the flames, and led socialism in that country to take the ultra form of nihilism. Nihilism is belief in nothing, an intellectual revolt against the incessant changes in the form of governmental administration, which indeed created constant unrest and dissatisfaction. The revolt was perhaps as much against the uncertainty of the law as against the severity of the law when exercised. Nihilism therefore passed into a vigorous and determined policy of destruction, and was eagerly propagated by Bakunin, whose life was bent on exciting revolution and disorder. "The nihilist," says he, "has only one aim, one science—destruction." Other socialists in Russia, however, for a time adopted the milder method of going among the people and working up the cause. But at length there came the system of terror inaugurated in 1871, when the most diabolical deeds were done against any opponents of the cause. Another party—the Black Division—is agrarian, aiming at the re-subdivision of the land. "The earth is the Lord's," and the Czar is his steward. The poor Russian peasant has great faith in the Czar, and very little in Government officials under the Czar. He therefore hopes and agitates for a time when the Czar himself will grant him more land with less rent and taxes than he now pays.

In America we have Bellamy's nationalization scheme, and Henry George's Agrarian Socialism. It appears from Mr. Rae's discussion that these are merely German importations free of duty, and therefore an analysis of them will not add much to our information. Bellamy's idea of nationalization in his popular book, "Looking Backward," is familiar to all. The state is to organize and conduct all industry, and every person is to be guaranteed a livelihood. All enjoyment, all culture, all industry, the whole complex character of our present-day life is to be under the care of the state. The individual effort which is such a strong factor in the development of true character, is wanting. Man, the individual man, can never thus attain his highest powers when deprived of self-reliance. Whatever strength socialism has in the States is due chiefly to the German element in the population. It is quite true that there is a widespread and growing interest in social reform, but not along revolutionary lines. This leads to the supposition that the conditions of life in the New World, if left to work out their own course, would not cause the dissatisfaction nor beget the political and social schemes which have characterized the overcrowded, ill-paid and neglected masses of the continent of Europe.

In discussing "Socialism and the Social Question," Mr. Rae takes strong ground, from what he observed in England, that socialism does not offer any better guarantee for the working classes to realize their ambitions than the present system of economics. He shows clearly that to take away the power of acquisition, and to lessen the responsibility of the individual, to exchange the zeal and interests of the responsible employer, for the perfunctory State official, would entail great loss as well as destroy the incentive to production. Relieved of all necessity to take thought or pains, men would not work as hard, nor work as well as they do now, and the result would be that in time there would be a return to industrial slavery. The motive power of progress is destroyed when the mind is set entirely on "The diffusion of progress," as socialism requires. It is shown that the "superiority of Great Britain is as much due to the administrative skill and economy of her employers as to the efficiency of her laborers." While socialism has entered English economic life, still it does not appear to affect any line of economics more

than what is necessary in the ordinary progress of society. If it helps to increase the numbers of owners of private property and it multiplies the opportunities of industrial investment open to the laboring classes, then it has a reason for existence, but it cannot be classed with revolutionary socialism. The main value of socialism is that it has led to a consideration of the economic position of the people, for while wealth has enormously increased it has been attended with comparatively little amelioration in the general well-being of the masses.

In his chapter on "State Socialism," Mr. Rae points out that while England has not kept pace with other nations in Governmental intervention, yet she has far outstripped all nations in the extension and establishment of popular rights, and in the protection of her citizens from force and fraud. She has done this, too, in some cases "from moral rather than economic ends," as shown in the Factory and Education Acts. The words of Mr. Goschen are quoted, namely: "We cannot see universal state action enthroned as a principle of government without misgivings, and yet government should see justice done between man and man," to show how earnestly thoughtful men are viewing the present order of affairs, and to show further that England, while not socialistic, is as little inclined to follow the method of *laissez-faire* as to leave the world to self-interest and competition.

These various socialistic schemes are the attempts of men to better their lot in life. This desire is natural and the aim praiseworthy. Yet any scheme that tries to place all men on an equality, or that would abolish private property, contends against the law of man's being. In order that man may make progress he must indeed be free, and have access to those natural opportunities without which he can do nothing. In this sense all should be free. But to make all share and share alike, or according to the needs of each, is to forget the fact that man is not born either with an innate love of work or with an altruistic nature. Let every man know that he must respect the rights of others, and that no progress can be made in any state without everyone being placed under many limitations. The highest good of all the people will only be reached when each feels he must do his part to make the state all that it should be. Mr. Rae, while conservative, is candid and fair in his treatment, frankly admitting

the need of reforms in the state from time to time. But these reforms should have the interest and co-operation of the people as a whole, and not of any section or class in the community.

While the different theories we have so hurriedly reviewed appear inadequate and based on false premises, still there is something to be said in favor of that wide movement known to-day under the general name of socialism. The cause may not be far to seek. The conditions of life in crowded cities, the great extremes in worldly comfort, the accumulation by one man in a short lifetime of many millions, while his neighbor prolongs a life of hardship and penury, are sufficient to engage the attention of all thoughtful men. The present social garment covers some too well, while many are naked. The wheatfields of the world can produce food for all; why then are so many of the human family on the point of starvation? When we have eliminated every collateral cause of poverty, as intemperance, laziness, mental and physical disability, the question remains still unsolved. Shall we say to those who are in wretchedness and want, "There is no relief; you are under a fatal necessity to be born, and live and die a pauper." We cannot as free moral agents speak after this fashion. We cannot as Christian men be indifferent, and like the Priest and the Levite pass by on the other side. The Church is not acting even in its own interests if it looks with coldness on disinterested and humane attempts to bring relief to the suffering. Nor are the schools of learning wise in their generation if they bring no other power than the keen blade of logic to meet the crying want of the masses of the people. Legislation may do a good deal by way of prevention to improve the conditions of society. While no word is left unspoken that can impress upon the mind and conscience of man the eternal law of progress for both the individual and community, namely, "No man liveth unto himself," at the same time there should be no legal privileges given to the demand of selfishness. Restrictions and prohibitions are often a necessity to safeguard the state. In an article on Socialism in the February number of the "Canadian Magazine," the Hon. J. W. Longley, of Nova Scotia, holds it to be the "Right of the whole people or body politic to regulate certain things in the interests of the whole state, and in order to make things fair and just to all cer-



tain individual rights must give way, be abridged, or swept away." This means nothing more, he says, than "Organized Government." To show how socialistic organized government is, illustrations are taken from the criminal laws and the laws protecting the rights of private property. The out-and-out socialist would destroy private property. But private property is not a creation of the state ; it is one of its primary sanctions, for man's earliest ownership is individualistic, not communal. So then socialism can only interfere with private property when such interference is of benefit to the community, and by giving ample compensation to the individual who loses.

Almost the whole machinery of civic government is socialistic in this limited sense. The Public School System, our Health and Sanitation laws, exemplify the principle. By the appointment of boards of arbitration the state lawfully interferes in the disputes between capital and labor, prohibiting strikes and lock-outs and compelling submission to the awards of the duly constituted board of arbitrators. It seems a just thing that the state should take action to restrain on the one hand the power of the capitalist, or on the other the lawlessness of labor, so that the state may interfere between the actions of individuals as well as legislating for the general good. The Irish Land Act of 1881 is an example of state intervention between two individuals, in which agreements, formerly made in private between landlord and tenant, may be lawfully put aside by this Land Act. Why may not the state own railways and telegraph lines as well as the post-office and canals? The principle of state control of the post-office is socialistic, and there is nothing in the principle against railways, etc., being controlled in the same way. In Canada we have an illustration of Government control of railways in the Intercolonial. The only question is one of expediency or degree, and whenever society is satisfied that the ownership and operation of railways would be preferable to the present system, making things easier and better for the masses of the people, there is no revolutionary process to go through for the state to exercise such control. When we keep in view that the object aimed at is the well-being of the people generally—not the favoritism of the few—laws made in accordance with God's Law of Justice and the teaching of nature, there is nothing to fear, but much to hope

for in the advance of enlightened and progressive legislation. The cry of alarm with which socialism is met in some quarters is not the cry of men filled with righteous indignation, but that of men who begin to see the walls which surround and protect them giving way before the steady advance of fuller knowledge and wider responsibility.

In a fair estimate of socialism, then, it may be argued, not only that the state should take charge of railways, etc., but also that it should profit by the values gained through the holding of unoccupied land. This may be, and in part is, disputed ground. Yet it does not mean the destruction of private rights in land, and is commendable in so far as it would prevent the holding of uncultivated lands until the community has given a great value to the same, the profits of which go to him who in no sense had earned them.

Further, society might repeal all special privileges by which corporations have grown enormously rich, as oil trusts and coal trusts, etc. Evenhanded justice to all is not open to objection; many of the present-day trusts are. Along with these trusts might well go the franchises which were given to corporations, and by which immense profits were realized, (*e. g.* The Chicago Street Railway franchise was allowed to run for ten miles through the city for nothing. At the end of the first year there was paid a very liberal rate on \$20,000,000; then becoming a joint stock company with a capital of \$30,000,000, the original promoters became multi-millionaires.) The regulation and adjustment of the varied powers of society, so that the greatest good can be accomplished, whether called socialistic or not, is not an idea to fill any man with fear. There is this to be said, that socialism of that sort is not revolutionary, does not destroy private rights, and of course would not be accepted by the socialists of Europe. In the march of civilization all admit that change and reform are necessary. Without reform time brings the inevitable revolution. Those who to-day have the power will retain it longest when "they stoop to conquer," and when they are willing to advance along the line of least resistance in social life and well being. What mode of teaching can be as good in the present state of unrest as the words of the Great Teacher Himself, "to do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you." Any

method of social reform that embodies justice is by that much in accord with the ethics of the Gospel. But when socialism under the name of anarchism wages a guerilla warfare against "princes, proprietors and parsons," as in France, advising men not to pay rent, because rent is theft, and to assist a brother when he resists his landlord, then Christianity can only condemn. When it would destroy the natural ambition of the individual by destroying competition, reducing all to a dead level of state help, and self-help for one, then, too, there can be but one verdict, that is condemnation. Every reader of current literature knows that the civilized world of to-day is much like Carlyle's "fermenting vat." The burden of huge armies in Germany and continental Europe, the burden of taxation in Italy, the unstable character of government in France, the retroactive policy of the Russian Government towards the masses, the growth of enormous combines in America, and the growing discontent wherever two or three laborers are gathered together, force upon us the lesson that he will best serve his day and generation who does not shut his eye to the approaching danger, but who frankly admitting the disease, as frankly tries to find the best remedy. What is that? It must be in the education, moral and intellectual, of the whole people. We believe it is expressed nowhere so well as in the mission of Christ through whom mankind may be educated, evangelized and blest as citizens of the present world as well as of that which is to come. Any remedy must conserve what is good in the individual and the state as well as destroy what is evil. There is no single panacea among all the multitude of social reforms that will do this great work. Agrarian laws or Socialistic Democracy, or Revolution may change the masters, but will not change the tyranny. It is not in man, unless in harmony with the Divine, "to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with his God." From a survey of all schemes, utopian or otherwise, that may be brought into review there is not one that has in it the permanency or the power of Christianity to bless mankind.

JOHN HAY.

## CRITICAL NOTES.

### AESCHYLUS AND EURIPIDES AGAIN.

THE other day in reading a book written by one of the gentlemen who attended the annual conference of the Alumni at Queen's\*, I came across a passage which made me feel for a time as if the ancient landmarks of classical criticism had been at length removed, and that some new scholar, the latest of a race evidently increasing in numbers, had turned that world upsidedown since the days when Professor Jebb read the *Agamemnon* to us in Glasgow. The passage is one in which the author is making a comparison between the manner in which Aeschylus treats the murder of Clytaemnestra by her son, and that of Euripides in his drama on the same subject. Here it is in full (the italics are Mr. Begg's):—

In Euripides we have at least one pathetic picture which shows an advance in moral feeling over anything of the kind in either Aeschylus or Sophocles. In the *Choephori* Orestes is made to kill his mother Clytaemnestra in the most cold-blooded matter-of-fact way. "Follow me," he said to his mother, "I wish to slay thee close beside his corpse (*Ægisthus*) here; for when he was alive too, thou didst use to deem him better than my father. Go sleep with him in death, since thou dost love this man, and him whom thou was bound to love thou loathest." And he killed her with as apparently little feeling as he would a beast..... But while, in the *Electra* of Euripides, Orestes performs the murder as a duty and at the instigation of his sister and of the gods, as he thinks, he does the deed reluctantly, and *while covering his face with his robe*.

"*Orestes*. To what dreadful deeds,  
O thou most dear, hast thou thy brother urged  
Reluctant! Didst thou see her when she drew  
Her vests aside, and bared her breasts, and bow'd  
To earth her body whence I drew my birth,  
Whilst in her locks my furious hand I wreathed?

*Electra*. With anguish'd mind, I know, thou didst proceed,  
When heard thy wailing mother's piteous cries.

*Orestes*. These words whilst with her hands she stroked  
my cheeks,

\*The Development of Taste. W. Proudfoot Begg, Glasgow, Maclehose and Sons.

Burst forth, 'Thy pity I implore, my son.'  
 Soothing she spoke, as on my cheeks she hung,  
 That bloodless from my hand the sword might fall.

*Chorus.* Wretched Electra, how couldst thou sustain  
 A sight like this? How bear thy mother's death,  
 Seeing her thus before thine eyes expire?

*Orestes.* Holding my robe before mine eyes, I raised  
 The sword, and plung'd it in my mother's breast."

The change is a most significant one. The murder of even a mother in revenge for murder had evidently been esteemed a sacred duty—demanded at once by the gods, and by him who had been sent beneath the earth, Agamemnon slain; but the great reluctance of Orestes in Euripides to do the deed—the feeling that it was opposed to all the better instincts of the heart, a thing unnatural and horrible—was not far from the belief that it was a deed, not demanded but abhorred and forbidden by the gods and the "laws of range sublime whose father is Olympus."

.....Euripides bears us a stage onwards in moral and religious culture.

This is nemesis indeed. Euripides, so long used by all sorts of editors and philosophical historians as an instructive contrast to the moral grandeur of Aeschylus and Sophocles, as a kind of beacon to show how art declines with declining faith, to be represented as "an advance in moral and religious culture,"! Euripides, it is true, has always had the support of some very great names, Milton, Goethe, Browning, and latterly even amongst professional scholars and editors something like a general reaction in his favour is noticeable. The humane and pathetic traits which abound in his work, his lyrical fluency and variety, his descriptive power, have been brought more into relief, and even the constructive art of his drama and his 'Peleus and Aeolus' find champions.

The general result has been stated by Professor Jebb in his article on Euripides in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* with the fine impartiality which is distinctive of his work in this way: "Euripides," he says, "made a splendid effort to maintain the place of tragedy in the spiritual life of Athens by modifying its interests in the sense which his own generation required. Could not the heroic persons still excite interest if they were made more real,—if in them the passions and sorrows of every-day life were portrayed with greater vividness and directness?"

Unquestionably in all this, some tardy justice is being

done to "sad Electra's poet;" but when it goes so far as to pronounce Euripides to be a moral and religious advance on Aeschylus, one feels the necessity of once more reviewing the old questions about the dramatic art of the Greeks and determining how far the new criticism is to modify our established opinions. And for this the passage from Mr. Begg's book may serve as a text as well as anything else. The translation which Mr. Begg uses is an old one (Potter's), and distributes the parts between Orestes and the chorus in a way somewhat different from that used in modern editions. He seems also only to *infer* from the reluctance with which Orestes describes himself in this passage as doing the deed that he was "not far from the belief that it was a deed not demanded, but abhorred and forbidden by the gods," while the fact is that both Orestes and the Dioscuri in other parts of the play express their opinion plainly enough as to the wisdom, or rather the want of it, in the oracle's instructions in this respect. All this might suggest that Mr. Begg's judgment is rather naive than critical. But, critical or naive, the real question remains, is this a permissible way of representing the difference between Aeschylus and Euripides?

When we read over the scene in which Aeschylus has with sublime daring brought Clytaemnestra and her son face to face in a situation so full of horror, we easily recognize that it has little in common with the modern drama and does not (as Mr. Begg's judgment proves) directly and at once appeal to modern sympathies. There is, it is true, a single expression of horror on the part of Orestes at the sight of his mother exposing the breasts that nursed him, one brief condensed phrase in the manner of Aeschylus;—"Pylades, what am I to do? Dare I slay my mother"? But after the reminder of Pylades, "Where, then, are the oracles of Apollo, and the vows thou took'st upon thee? Better all the world against you than the gods," there is not a word more to indicate vacillation or doubt, not a phrase which seeks to relieve by expression the strife which is going on within him between natural feeling and the sense of duty. For a moment indeed the intense tenderness of Clytaemnestra's cry at the sight of the dead body of Aegisthus,—“Thou art dead, then, dear manhood of Aegisthus,”—appears to surprise him and moves his hate of that

adulterous connection to express itself in bitter irony: "Thou lovest the man? In the same tomb, then, shalt thou lie. Thou wilt not desert him in death.....I will slay thee beside him, for in life thou did'st regard him more than my father; therefore sleep with him in death, since thou lovest this man and hatest him whom it was thy duty to love."

But after that the only feeling Orestes allows to express itself is the gloomy sense of destiny with which he proceeds to obey the law of avenging justice, expressed besides in the specific commands of the oracle. Clytaemnestra brought to bay defends herself with all the vigour of a powerful intellect and tries briefly but thoroughly every chord that might find an echo in the breast of Orestes, and weaken resolution there.

I nursed thee, let me grow old in thy house.

But the hypocritical, though pathetic strain in the appeal is unmasked clearly enough in the answer of Orestes,

After slaying my father, dost thou really wish to live with me? Then she would put some of the responsibility on fate, the dread fate that overhangs the house of Atreus:

Fate, O child, had a hand in it all, too.

but the reply is equally crushing; that fate did not end with her crime, but was rather continued by it:

And fate therefore deals out this death to thee.

. . . . .

It is thy own work, not mine, that thou diest.

This sense of doom, of the eternal justice of the gods which overpowers all else in Orestes, is something against which Clytaemnestra herself feel she fights in vain. She has to do with a will fixed beyond the power of appeals to natural feeling. "I seem" she says, "to be vainly making my moan to a tomb," and the tomb of Agamemnon near by gives a double significance to her words. Orestes replies, "'Tis the fate of my father wafts thee to thy death." "Alas for me!" Clytaemnestra exclaims, at last letting go that strong grasp of life which calamities have not weakened, "This is the snake I bore and nourished in my dream." The answer of Orestes, and the conclusion of the dialogue, is a dogged reiteration of the fatal law: Thou did'st slay him whom thou ought'st not, so must suffer what thou ought'st not.

This severe manner of representing a tragic event, with its

powerful reserve and sublime condensation of stroke, is a mode of tragic feeling to which Mr. Begg's epithets of "cold-blooded" and "matter of fact" are quite inappropriate. It does not mean that Aeschylus felt the elements of pathos and horror in the situation less than Euripides, and the difference in the manner of the two dramatists is to be explained not by an inferiority "in moral and religious feeling" on the part of Aeschylus, but by the different and severer conception which he had of the heroic and tragic in dramatic art.

Both Aeschylus and Euripides represent Orestes as an instrument of fate, one acting in obedience to the eternal laws of justice, and this conception receives a particular form in the commands laid upon him by Apollo; but while this conception in Euripides is little more than an empty tribute to religious traditions, and appears for the most part only in its specific form of an injunction from the oracle of Apollo; in Aeschylus, the idea that bloody violence works out into bloody retribution by an inexorable law of fate, has a reality and truth which gives support to the specific religious ideas of the Greek regarding the sacred duty of revenge and the oracles of Apollo the Purifier. In this way Aeschylus seems to hold in a kind of unity what he can find out by searching regarding the eternal laws of life on the one hand, and on the other the traditional religious and moral ideas of the Greek with regard to crime of the kind in question; and therefore he represents Orestes performing his work of vengeance with sacrificial solemnity and deliberation. The legendary hero of the Greek stage with his conventional mask and costume is a perfectly fit exponent of the truths which Aeschylus sees and values in life.

For with this tremendous almost oppressive solidarity of the heavens over him, the character of the Aeschylean hero who is to walk beneath them is fixed. He is the subject of the destiny of his race; but within that conception he still has freedom in his rational acceptance and intelligence of it, and in working for a moral end, as Eteocles goes forth to what he knows is his doom, for the curse of the house of Laius is upon him, yet succeeds in saving the Cadmeian city. The specifically heroic character of his action consists in his entirely resolute and unwavering performance of his task. To Aeschylus a Hamlet



conceiving his task with as deep a sense of duty, yet hesitating and vacillating in the performance of it, would have been not only an unheroic spectacle (he is that to us moderns) but the most unfit subject conceivable for the heroic drama. Freytag (*Die Technik des Dramas*,) has expressed this Greek conception of the heroic very strongly: "The Greeks (he says) were very sensitive "about any vacillation of the will; the greatness of their heroes "consisted above all in steadfastness (*Festigkeit*). The chief "actor must never represent a character which allowed itself "to be led on any important occasion. If Philoctetes had yielded "to the intelligent discourse of the second actor (Neoptolemus) "he would have sunk entirely in the estimation of the audience; "he would have been the strong hero no longer."

All this, however, does not hinder Aeschylus from showing in his own way as much sensitivity regarding the moral character of Orestes' deed as Euripides. Besides the expressions of the chorus, which as Patin remarks serves in Aeschylus to give expression to those more common-place feelings of humanity which are excluded from the heroic, the representation in the *Choephori* of the reaction of horror that seizes Orestes is a far more powerful and poetic vindication of the rights of nature than the pathetic traits in Euripides; and yet it is done in such a manner that the conception of heroic strength of will and purpose is not weakened. In spite of himself, after the deed is done, the mind of Orestes wanders and his senses are troubled. "I drive far wide of my course as if I were in a chariot with horses. Fancies hard to control overcome me and bear me away." But with a last effort he steadies his thoughts to declare, before he loses possession of himself, that he "slew his mother according to the demands of eternal justice." It is the Furies that are upon him, "the angry sleuth-hounds of his mother." "Ye indeed do not see them," he tell the chorus, "but I see them." This violent reaction of nature heroically repressed according to the dictates of Justice and Duty, altho' a little disguised for us under the Greek conception of the Furies, is just as real and true to human nature, just as vivid a stroke of the natural for the *heroic* type of Orestes in Aeschylus, as the pathetic expressions of Euripides are for the more ordinary type of manhood represented by his Orestes. And if there is equal

truth of nature, there is certainly more imaginative depth and profundity in the representation of Aeschylus, that is, after all there is a *deeper* truth.

So also the ethical question, the conflict of moral ideas, involved in the act of Orestes receives a profoundly serious and independent treatment from Aeschylus in the *Eumenides*, the play which closes the trilogy. The fundamental ideas of that play, Avenging Justice, which had before steadied the hand of Orestes, now invoked by the Furies against him; Apollo representative of conventional religion and sacred traditions now virtually on his trial before Athene and the Court of the Areopagus; the equally divided votes of the Court by which Orestes receives an ambiguous acquittal, reveal the difficulties amidst which Aeschylus struggled to reach a clear conception of moral law and reconcile the religious ideas of his time with his own sense of eternal law and right. And in all that there is certainly a profounder if more cautious and reverent criticism of the conventional Greek morality and religion than the summary double judgment of the Dioscuri in Euripides and their half-uttered impeachment of Apollo's oracle—'she was justly slain, but the oracle commanding you to do it was unwise.' The doubt as to the moral character of the deed, which Aeschylus except for one brief hint treats in a separate and independent form, Euripides allows to influence the character Orestes to the extent of impairing its heroic outlines, the strength of will and purpose characteristic of the heroic type, contrary to the higher, at any rate, the severer traditions of Greek dramatic art. With Euripides, however, we must remember, Electra is the principal figure.

Of course it is open to any one to say that this Aeschylean ideal of the heroic with its unfaltering almost relentless action is narrow, imperfect, and more suitable to the gigantic legendary figures of Theban and Trojan story than to human nature. Imperfect it no doubt is, and for us must be modified in many ways; but nevertheless there remains in it something which is eternally true and has not substantially changed with any evolution of art, or of the moral and religious feeling which is the inspiration of art. Though less common, it is just as true to life as the familiar and pathetic in Euripides, and holds its place in modern art, wherever modern art is really great and heroic. Take away the super-

ficial disguise of dialect and costume and at bottom the Aeschylean conception of the heroic is the same as that which Dante makes us admire in *Farinata*, the same as that by which Carlyle explains and vindicates Cromwell, the same as that in the light of which Shakespeare interprets Brutus, and which guides Schiller in the gloom and pathos of his *Wallenstein*, the same as that by which Scott, in spite of himself, as he said, was constrained to exhibit with all the power of tragic pathos the characters of Redgauntlet the Elder and Balfour of Burleigh. The moral sense of destiny which guides Scott's hand in his picture of Burleigh in his later days, struggling with the Erinyes, 'far wide of his course,' fanatic zeal even unto slaying having darkened into insanity—is something which bears a striking resemblance to what Aeschylus sought to show us. This heroic ideal may be exhibited with many modifying circumstances, as working with clear moral sense for its ends, or as tragically entangled and obscured in the confusion and complication of circumstances, but the essential quality, the greatness of soul visible in the power of will, in the capacity for self-sacrifice and endurance to the end, remains as Aeschylus conceived it.

In the delineation of character, however, dramatic art has perhaps with Euripides made a step onward as regards methods. This step Professor Jebb (apparently following Mommsen's estimate of Euripides in his *History of Rome*, Vol. II.) seems to define as a higher individualisation of character, that is, the representation of character with more minuteness and abundance of traits than in Aeschylus; and he explains that Aeschylus had "to refrain from multiplying those minute touches which by individualizing too highly the characters would bring them closer indeed to daily experience but would detract from their general value as types in which all Hellenic humanity could recognize its own image glorified."

It is true that dialogue (the medium of this individualisation) is with Aeschylus a new invention—he had, poor man, as Carlyle says, of Burns, 'to make his very tools'—and that therefore, as Verrall has pointed out in that great exposition of his of the plot movement of the *Agamemnon*, there is in the art of Aeschylus a greater reference to and reliance on the actual stage action or performance to assist individualisa-

tion of character. But all the same there does not seem to be any need of excessive apology for Aeschylus under this head. His stroke is brief, but it has precisely the deep suggestive power of one who had the action more before his mind almost than the phrase in which he describes it. He does not express for expression's sake, but his condensed trait, the rare cry of nature which he allows to escape just at the right moment, the unwonted tenderness for example (strange-seeming in her as in a tigress, yet as natural) of Clytaemnestra's τέθνηκα, φίλτατ' Αἰγίσθου βία ('Thou art dead, then, dear manhood of Aegisthus'), or Orestes' ἔδρασεν, ἢ οὐκ ἔδρασε; ('Did he do it, or did he not?') brief and stern logic, yet already in its fierce compression on the way to frenzy, are as vivid touches of 'the natural' in his style as the more fluent pathos of Euripides. Such dialogue, too, as that which takes place between Clytaemnestra and Agamemnon in the first play of the trilogy shows a power of characterisation and an abundance of minute and profound individualising traits, regarding which we would willingly have had even fuller notes from Dr. Verrall.

The art of Euripides is inspired by a less heroic as well as a less religious idea of life. His affinities are all for what is familiar, natural and picturesque. In the *Electra*, from which the passage we have been discussing is taken, his treatment of the whole story is unheroic and has been generally regarded as indignified and grotesque. Electra, the daughter of Agamemnon, is introduced to us in rags and married to a peasant. Clytaemnestra is represented as a coquette from the beginning, dressing herself to look handsome in the absence of husband; Aegisthus is spoken of by Electra as a kind of Greek Mantalini, overshadowed by the superior prestige of his wife, but appreciating the advantages of his position and figure for the sake of ancillary amours.

Of course this manner which Euripides has of representing life, represents a truth as much as the manner of Aeschylus does, and it represents a truth which appeals far more readily to the ordinary mind, than the truth of Aeschylus, at any rate when traditional ideals do not stand in the way of its acceptance as would be the case with many of the Athenians. It is a middle region, between high tragic and pure comic feeling of life, in which

the natural and the familiar easily find a place; it is a region in which most of the situations lend themselves with equal ease either to comic or to tragic treatment; and it is a testimony of the severity and strength of the traditions of Greek art that Euripides held his hand in this respect as much as he did. Even in the *Alcestis*, where it is difficult to divest our minds of the extraordinary charm of pathos and moral depth which Browning's interpretation in *Balaustion's Adventure* has thrown around that drama, we can see that it only requires a touch to give some of the situations and much of the dialogue the character of comedy. Indeed this drama which Browning pathetically calls "that strangest, sweetest, saddest song of his" is very generally described as having something of the character of a satyric drama, a *δρᾶμα σατυρικώτερον*, as Professor Munk terms it. At the very outset the encounter of Apollo and Death at the portals of the palace, is a situation ready made for the hand of Lucian, and he might have got some fair hints from their dialogue. Even Browning in his transcript, relying upon the modern sympathy for mixtures of the sublime and the comic, has been tempted to press, though ever so slightly, the comic suggestion of the situation, and to insert a picture of Death skulking behind the pillars and eyeing doubtfully his brother Diety.

Half in, half out the portal,—watch and ward,—

Eyeing his fellow : formidably fixed,

Yet faltering too at who confronted him.

Immediately after comes that powerful passage in which the conception of the two opposing powers is given with tragic seriousness and Miltonic splendor of imagination.

Like some dread, heapy, blackness, ruffled wing,

Convulsed and cowering head that is all eye, etc.

Neither passage has any positive basis in the text of Euripides, but both are, so to speak, potentially in the situation. Lucian would have taken the one and Aeschylus might have claimed the other. This means that situations of *this kind* have no profound reality for Euripides.

And indeed Euripides does not always hold his hand. In the *Bacchae* he inserts as part of the climax of the story, an incident the comic power of which, unnoticed apparently by editors, might have made Aristophanes pale with envy. The mes-

senger is describing how Pentheus came by his death torn in pieces by the Bacchantes whose mysteries he had with profane curiosity sought to gaze upon. The royal Pentheus insidiously led by Bacchus near the scene of the orgies, thinks he would like to have a better sight of them. "Stranger," he says to Bacchus, from the point where we are, I cannot manage to see the on-goings\* of these Mænads. If I mounted on a mound or some high pine, I could see very well their disgraceful doings." Then the messenger tells what a wonderful thing he saw the stranger do. "He seized a high sky-pointing branch of a pine, drew it down, down, down, till it touched the earth, curving like a bow . . . thus he bent it with superhuman strength to the ground, and having seated Pentheus on its shoots, and balancing him carefully with his hands so that he might not be jerked off, he let the branch erect itself and mount into the air with its master seated on its back (the metaphor throughout is that of horse and rider.) Thus seated on high, he was rather a spectacle to the Mænads than the Mænads to him.....

The tragic consequences follow. But the comic trait and turn of phrase so evident in *κατήγεν, ἤγεν, ἤγεν....νώτοισ δασπτόην ἐφήμενον... ὤφθη μᾶλλον*, is repeated again and again up to the very beginning of the description of the slaughter of Pentheus by his mother in her Bacchanal frenzy.

The extraordinary mixture of materials in the speech of the messenger from which the above passage is quoted, the idyllic loveliness of the first fifteen lines in which, though they may contain 'only a line and a half of pure description', the woodland charm is felt throughout; the malicious comic allurements of the style in the 'hoisting' of Pentheus; the fierce excitement of the Bacchantes, and the pathetic representation of their victim's death—pathetic and graphic, not really tragic—may be part of that licentious and florid inelegance with which Paley reproaches the later plays of Euripides, but like the choric ode of the maenads in the same play it is unmistakeably the work of a great poetic genius. And when that fact is once clear, criticism of any work of Euripides, the real tendency and significance of which may not yet be fully perceived, must be respectfully cautious.

\* (*μόθων*), a word, since Tyrrell, doubtful to editors, but very apt for my purpose here and partly approved by Sandys).

The *Bacchæ* is perhaps the last work of Euripides. Written and, it may be, first represented in the freer air of half-barbaric Macedonia, it is a work in which the poet seems to have felt a freedom of imagination, a liberty of hand impossible in the more classical and critical atmosphere of Athens. In such a play as the *Bacchæ* we are bound to recognize an entirely new form of dramatic art which in spirituality of invention, in the free play and exuberance of imagination, and in ease yet sureness of touch, has a considerable resemblance, as Symonds has remarked, to the art of *Midsummer Nights' Dream*.

On the "inevitable progression of art" which led Euripides to abandon the older heroic ideal of tragedy for something more familiar and human, that clever critic has written an interesting chapter in *The Greek Poets*. But that Euripides was justified in degrading the majestic traditions of

Thebes and Pelops line

And the tale of Troy divine

traditions which the work of Homer, Æschylus and Sophocles had consecrated, and using them however ingeniously as a cover for the representation of familiar contemporary life is another question. No doubt, however, there were many amongst the Athenians who did not feel or did not resent this lowering of ideal figures any more than those Christians who in our own day read with edification Dr. Talmage's dithyrambic descriptions of the mysteries of heaven. But with us moderns he must always suffer by the comparison wherever we can make it. For after two thousands years of experience we can better appreciate the value of truth even in a symbol, and especially of earnest efforts to adjust that symbol to the truth as compared with disbelief and despair of faith even when accompanied by a fine susceptibility for what is humane and beautiful and pathetic. Hence it is that Euripides wins our sympathies more easily in subjects like the *Ion* and the *Bacchæ* in which he does not seem to us to be divesting the heroic figures of Æschylus and Sophocles of the greatness which we inevitably associate with them. But all the same in these dramas—for we cannot accept the opinion of Muller and Paley that the *Bacchæ* is the old man's return to acceptance of the state religion, or even the more cautious expression of Sandys, that it is "in some sort and *apologia an eirenicon*"—he is still the same Eur-

ipides, still at war with Olympus, only more artfully and with polite apologetic bows to the priests of the Apolline cult, seated according to Professor Jebb's conjecture, in the front row of the theatre.

It has been offered as an apology for Euripides' degradation of those great Greek legends, that he was obliged by the traditions of the Greek stage to use these heroic figures, unsuitable as they might be to his way of interpreting life. But surely Phrynichus and Aeschylus had long before used the mask and cothurnus for the treatment of contemporary history. It might rather be said, if Verrall's view that Euripides was everywhere making war on the Olympian religion be, as I think, the right one, that this negative polemical element (always an alien element in poetry) working with too much strength in his dramatic art had a disastrous influence on it and hindered a freer and more natural development. For after all, that there is some fundamental want in the drama of Euripides is pretty well attested by the long line of critics who, though they may have missed a point, and an essential one, too, in the plot of *Andromache*, or mistaken the aim of the *Bacchae*, have always based their final judgment on the fact that there is something unsatisfying and incomplete in his representation of life. To some such fatal phrase it comes at length even with such liberal estimates of him as Mommsen and Jebb have given,—“Irreparable want of poetic completeness,” says the former; “want of harmony between form and matter,” the latter.

Nevertheless a distinguished English scholar whose critical acuteness and masterly grasp of the constructive art of the Greek drama are very evident, and whose accuracy is such that it has actually furnished us with a fresh interpretation of Sophocles' old comparison between himself and Euripides, has set himself once more to the task of overturning the traditions of criticism as regards Euripides. “Euripides” says Dr. Verrall, “was as “truly interested in religion as either of his predecessors, and “had a much truer perception than either of them of the line in “which religion should and did advance.”.....Much of Euripides' “work was written with the express purpose of exposing and “destroying the doctrine of Olympus, a religious purpose, if ever “there was one.....There is no proof that morality declined in



“the age of Euripides, still less that this supposed decline had any connection with that intellectual advance which was the chief fact of the time. That the collapse of the old religion produced much general unsettlement of mind is true enough; but this collapse was inevitable and the first step in true progress “.....Aeschylus lived too early to see the truth; Sophocles, if he saw it, suppressed his convictions.....But when Euripides came, it was high time that he should come.”

To show, however, that Euripides everywhere consistently works with a deep hate of the Olympian religion which had come down mingled with some of the grim ferocities as well as levities of an earlier age, and to bring out more fully than has been already done, how Euripides contrasts it with the humaner conceptions latent in the natural feeling of a later age, is not quite the same thing as to prove Euripides a positive moral and religious advance on his two great predecessors. The destruction of ‘the religion of Olympus’ is a ‘religious purpose’ only in proportion as that religion had ceased to furnish the necessary moral basis for Greek life, and as the destroyer might reasonably hope to supply its place with purer ideas. Otherwise the work has a negative character better fitted to inspire the philosopher of a sceptical period than the poet. To say merely that the work of Euripides in its criticism of the traditional religion and in its susceptibility to the ideas of the humane and beautiful is a step which must be taken before higher religious ideas can be evolved, is not to make it in itself a basis for anything, moral or religious, except in the sense in which Diderot’s works may be said to be a moral advance on Bossuet’s and to contain the germ of, or be a step towards the teaching of Matthew Arnold. But this is hardly a profitable use of words. That Euripides was sceptical, and humane, and aesthetically susceptible to the ideas of the good and the beautiful we knew already; that his art is deeper and less open to criticism than has been thought we were quite prepared and indeed delighted to hear from so excellent an authority as Dr. Verrall; but that it amounts to a serious interpretation of life which can be placed on the same level as that of Æschylus and Sophocles, or even higher, is a matter which yet requires proof. Such a proof would indeed be furnished by interpretation of the kind which Browning

has given in *Balaustion's Adventure* ; but with the possible exception of the treatment of Herakles, the professional scholar seems hardly to regard that as soundly based on the text.

JAMES CAPPON.

### BOOK REVIEWS.

*Hedonistic Theories : From Aristippus to Spencer.* By John Watson, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. MacLehose and Sons, Glasgow. Price 6s. net.

In the January number of the Critical Review (Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark) Professor Watson's last book, *Hedonistic Theories*, is reviewed by Professor Iverach, D.D., of Aberdeen University. "We are glad," says this competent critic, "that Dr. Watson has been induced to publish this valuable work. It has a value as a historical and expository work, apart from the philosophical point of view from which he criticises the various theories of Hedonism..... We know nothing finer than the exposition of the 'Influence of the Sophists on Greek philosophy'." While thinking that Dr. Watson might have given some space to the continental advocates of Hedonism, Professor Iverach considers the treatment of English Hedonism in Hobbes, Locke, Hume, Bentham, Mill and Spencer to be "full, clear, adequate, and fair. It is a great boon to the student of ethics to have so masterly a sketch within his reach. For it will teach him much as to the process of ethical thought in England, it will also give him a splendid example of what a philosophic statement ought to be." Here Professor Iverach says a strong word also in praise of the style, "the absolute clearness of statement, the limpid simplicity of style, and the perfect lucidity of his thought." The criticism concludes with a well deserved tribute to the power with which Dr. Watson's treatment of his subject conveys the idea that "philosophy is not a thing of the closet and the chair, it is in most intimate relation with all human interests, and can help to make them all more intense, more real, and more worthy of a rational being."

"We know nothing finer." That is a strong expression to come from the pen of a 'canny' old-country Scotchman, sitting in high places ; and we congratulate Dr. Watson that the merits of his work are so well recognized by distant and impartial authorities.

J. C.

## CURRENT EVENTS.

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THERE has been no lack of stirring current events. What with the explosion of the plot against the Transvaal, with its revelations of Cecil Rhodes' undermining and the Emperor William's countermining; the poet-laureate pandering to Music Hall sentimentality, which can always see its own greatness but cannot see sin in a public crime which is apparently in its own interest; sober Englishmen shouting for war with Germany, the greatest power for peace and civilization in Europe, with which, too, we are bound to be friendly, by every consideration of kinship, religion and unbroken alliance for centuries; the rise of an ancient Christian monarchy in Africa, among the mountains of Rasselas, able to give a crushing blow to one of the great powers of Europe; the settlement of the Bulgarian question for a time, by the triumph of Russia over the pledged faith of its Prince and over the convictions of his spouse; the triumph of cool, consistent, remorseless Russian diplomacy in Turkey; the intensity of Spanish sentiment regarding Cuba; the new proofs given by the United States Legislature, the Senate leading, that the Republic's danger is to be found, not abroad but in the Capitol; the strengthening of the bonds between Britain and her Colonial Empire by events which were considered certain to disrupt them; the war fever in the States quietly giving place to an agitation for perpetual peace, or even alliance with the Mother Country; and the perpetually shifting scenes and new acts played in the comedy of errors which commenced at Ottawa nearly three months ago; not to speak of many other events which, in ordinary years, would have occupied all pens,—notably the submission of the French Senate to the Popular House, the swift transmutation of Madagascar into a French colony, our easy conquest of Ashanti and the horrible condition of things in Armenia;—one feels that the whole QUARTERLY is too small to contain all of interest that might be written.

The greatest sensations have come from Africa, and the trial of "Dr. Jim" and his colleagues will keep the Transvaal sensation alive in England for some time. British public opinion is still sound at the heart. President Kruger showed his faith in it and in British justice when he handed over his prisoners, to be tried by the power against which they had sinned most deeply. Time will be given before the trial is over for many facts to come out, at which we are at present only guessing; and there can be little doubt as to the verdict, no matter what exact penalty the law may warrant the judge inflicting on the criminals. It may safely be assumed that the real culprits are not in the dock. Secret wire-pullers held the strings in their hands. Men animated by the "*auri sacra fames*" managed the whole business. They had rigged the Johannesburg mining stocks and thought as little of raiding a free state. The action and language of John Henry Hofmeyr, a statesman without reproach, force us to believe that the

boss of the guilty gang was Cecil Rhodes. He was Hofmeyr's colleague and his nominal head, but apparently he betrayed the trust reposed in him by the truthful Dutchman. Rhodes has done such good service to the Empire that almost anything short of crime would be forgiven him. Unfortunately, though of a certain Napoleonic capacity, he is also Napoleonic—according to the testimony of Mr. Stead, an ardent admirer—in his arrested moral development. The conspiracy can only be described as a crime of the blackest dye. It exploded in the sudden invasion of a peaceful, friendly State, and it has sown a frightful crop of dragon's teeth. Futile bloodshed, re-awakened distrust, hatreds and racial jealousies, new causes of estrangement between the Cape Colony and the two little Dutch Republics, as well as between British and Boers all over South Africa, are the dire results which can be seen already. Yet, interested parties are raising all manner of specious pretexts to obscure the one plain moral question involved,—is political crime to be tolerated by Great Britain? That is what demands a straight answer. It is idle to say that the Boers are dirty; ignorant; bigoted; conceited; inhospitable; unsound on the slavery question, and above all that they do not like the English! The Uitlanders, on the contrary, are it seems enterprising, progressive and enlightened! *They* have built Johannesburg, no doubt from philanthropic motives! They have grievances, too, against the government of the Transvaal! What rubbish all this is, as a plea for freebooting and filibustering, even were it all true! But it is very far from being the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Having seen a little of the Boers and a little of diamond mining camps and of gold hunters in South Africa, I would prefer to take my chance any day with the Boers, apart altogether from the fact that the Transvaal is *their* country. What better stuff has modern Europe produced than the Dutch of the 17th century and the French Huguenots! Their mingled blood runs in the veins of the Boers of South Africa. Cut off from the Fatherland by an interminable ocean and immersed among savage hordes, they kept both their blood and their faith pure for generations. With few preachers and no schoolmasters, without any literature save the Bible, or any conception of the strides of modern Science, they subdued the land, planted vineyards, raised flocks and herds, penetrated beyond the mountains into the far interior, restrained fierce, lawless tribes with wholesome rigour, and brought up their children in the fear of God. They were never understood in England. Officials and missionaries misrepresented their crude civilization, and harsh treatment was authoritatively meted out to them again and again. When they trekked across the Vaal River into unknown regions, beyond the farthest boundary of any colony dreamed of by Britain, they had every right, as well as the law of necessity, to establish a government of their own. The annexation of their country, which they had carved out from barbarism, was a crime as well as a blunder. History records nothing more splendid, in its simple, pious daring, than their solemn oath of Brotherhood to fight unto death for their freedom. Nothing in Gladstone's long public life shows his moral heroism

so truly as his acknowledgement of their independence, when a force great enough to crush them was on the spot, burning to avenge the defeats of Laing's Nek, Ingogo, Bronker's Spruit and Majuba. There is only one way to treat such a people. Righteousness and generosity will win them, but nothing else will. Rhodes seemed to understand that. His political success was due to the support of the Dutch or Afrikaner element in the Cape Colony. Through its influence and the steady immigration of Europeans into the Transvaal, consequent on the discovery of the rich gold reefs of Witwatersrandt, he would in time have gained all that he could possibly have desired. The great forces were on his side, but he would not wait long enough. Whether inordinate ambition impelled him, or his hand was forced from without, by circumstances as yet unknown to us, he concluded that the time had come to strike. By intervening unexpectedly with a carefully equipped, well-led force, round which to rally the discontented thousands of Johannesburg, he counted on achieving the re-annexation of the Transvaal to the British Empire and its incorporation in Charterland. Had he succeeded, still vaster schemes might have been tried. He, at any rate, would have been a 19th century Clive and Warren Hastings rolled into one. He would have succeeded, too, had he not miscalculated the resistance of the Transvaal Boers. Their enemies thought they had lost their old virtues of brotherliness, bravery and coolness, during fifteen years of peace under the corrupting influences of wealth and faction. But the hardy farmers turned out with their rifles, at the right moment, in the old style. One is at a loss whether to admire most, their bravery and generalship, or their generosity after victory.

Kruger and Joubert, with his stout militia, stand out well in the whole affair. So does Mr. Chamberlain. He has proved himself a statesman; one who instead of following antiquated methods, knows what the present time requires. He goes to the mark, straight as an arrow, taking the public into his confidence, instead of finessing and lying, like a mystery man or the average politician.

What a pity that Mr. Chamberlain had not been Premier, instead of either Lord Rosebery or Lord Salisbury, during the frightful Armenian atrocities which for more than a year have disgraced Christendom as well as Turkey! It is admitted that if the British fleet had been ordered to Constantinople, as it should have been, immediately after the Sassoun massacres, the other powers would have either concurred or made no opposition. Lord Rosebery had not the requisite nerve, and besides his Government was tottering to its fall. Russia saw her chance and took to quietly backing up the Sultan. When Lord Salisbury became Premier, the problem had become far more complicated and demanded greater statesmanship. His Government, however, was so strong that he had a free hand, but he has failed more signally than his predecessor. He should have taken one line or the other. Siding with Russia, Germany and France, he would have preserved the traditional alliance with Turkey, and possibly have obtained some consideration for the Armenians by friendly pressure. A nobler course would have been to side with humanity,

at all risks, and inform the Sultan that another massacre meant war. Either course would have been consistent and would have led to results. He took neither and has accomplished nothing, except to throw Turkey into the arms of Russia and proclaim to the world that England is helpless in dealing with the moribund Turkish Empire, though it is exposed to attack from the sea at every point. What sense was there in denouncing the Sultan at the Guildhall Banquet, and then—after getting a letter of entreaty from the poor wretch himself—scornfully saying that he could see no man in the Turkish Administration fit to govern, if he meant to take no action or knew that no action could be taken? Naturally enough, the Sultan made up his mind to look out for an ally elsewhere, Russia itself being preferable to so candid a friend, and for the future he may be depended upon to do everything in his power to annoy England and frustrate her policy. Meanwhile, the miserable remnants of the Armenians feel that it would have been better, had they been left severely alone both by the diplomatists of Britain and by the missionaries of the United States. No wonder that bye-elections in England already indicate that the prestige of Lord Salisbury has received a heavy blow, and that the old sarcasm about him, attributed to Bismarck, "a lath painted to look like a bar of iron," is declared to have in it a grain of truth. Englishmen do not take kindly to announcements of their own helplessness, in spite of comforting assurances from Vienna that "only a very strong nation can afford to announce that the power of its arm has a limit!" That the Queen herself should write a personal letter to the Sultan, interceding for those of his subjects who had escaped, when threats from countless platforms and the scarcely veiled menaces of the Premier had turned out to be only mock thunder, was a humiliation indeed.

What is the lesson taught by the whole miserable fiasco. It is written in letters large enough for the most dim-eyed to read. It means the absolute necessity of a good understanding between Britain and the United States, if a shred of belief remains that the English speaking people have a mission, and that their mission is nothing less than to establish freedom, social justice and peace upon earth. Our forefathers had this inspiring conviction. They made great sacrifices for it, and it made them strong. Now that we are rich and numerous and resistless in strength, are we to let it go? We believe that it is not lost yet. There is still a high faith in the heart of our race, but so long as the schism of the 18th Century gapes wide, it cannot get adequate expression. The phrases, "splendid isolation," "the British Empire able to defy the world," and others of the same brand may tickle the ear and impart a glow to the frequenters of Music Halls, but they give no satisfaction to hearts wrung by the stories of nameless atrocities deliberately inflicted on hundreds of thousands of Christians, to whom as a people we are under obligations of treaty or of honour, not to speak of humanity and a common faith. If dozens of men pass by when a girl is being outraged or a child trampled on, it were better for themselves to be struck dead at once than to live,

knowing that they had forfeited their right to live. Are not moral laws and moral dooms, just as inevitable, equally binding upon nations also? Yes; and just because Britain and the States recognize these, their responsibility is greatest. The one seemed ready to go to war with the greatest military power on earth, because its Emperor sent a telegram of congratulation to Mr. Kruger! The other seemed ready to go to war with its own mother-land for the sake of a "divisional line," thousands of miles away, with which it had no concern whatsoever! Both have been on the point of war about seals in the North Pacific Ocean! But, neither was willing to take risks for the Armenians! It may be asked, what should be done? We are all alike called on to repent and to bring forth the fruits of repentance. The real reasons that made the British people let go the grip they had taken of the Armenian question were, the President's message with the shouts of approval it elicited, and the revelation immediately after that even Germany was ready to enter into the lists against them, in a quarrel with which it had little or nothing to do. But for those weighty reasons, Lord Salisbury would not have been forgiven for his feeble attitude. But in spite of the reasons, the people of Britain feel deeply their humiliation. It is evident that the heart of the United States is turning in the same direction. A hopeful sign of the times is that on both sides of the Atlantic a crusade is now going on for the establishment of a permanent court of arbitration between the two nations. This in itself may not promise much. The ugly fact that, though three years ago, a court of arbitration decided that our vessels had been unlawfully seized, Congress has taken no step to pay the damages, in spite of repeated appeals to the national honour by the President, shows how defective the method of arbitration is, when national feeling is involved. But still, every treaty or even informal agreement diminishes the chance that a war may possibly be sprung upon us, and the very possibility should be eliminated or brought down to the irreducible minimum. Lord Salisbury's recent statement, therefore, that Her Majesty's Government is in favour of the principle of a permanent court of arbitration, representing the two great halves of what is one people, and also that proposals looking that way are now before the Government of the United States, is most welcome. That is a step in the right direction, at any rate.

What part ought Canada to take in this good work of conciliation? If nothing can be done by direct Government action, a double responsibility rests upon us as a people to be a living link, instead of a cause of irritation, between the mother and the eldest daughter. To inflame old wounds or to inflict new ones, is a sin against the country's best interests. Exchanging insolence or threats is childish, whereas the sign of assured strength is calmness. If the Mother Country is proud of the United States, as indeed she is, we may well imitate their self-reliance, their public spirit and their many other virtues, instead of snarling as if willing to wound but yet afraid to bite. This is all the more necessary on our part, because Major McKinley's star is again in the as-

endant. If he gets the nomination of the Republican party, he is just the man—because of his consistency and the dislike felt for him by the “bosses”—to inspire popular enthusiasm sufficient to ensure a Republican victory. That would mean another period of thoroughgoing protection, directed with unanimity and a special zest against Canada, partly to please the farmers and partly, according to Mr. Carnegie, for high reasons of state. Another defeat would serve the Democrats right. They had not the courage of their convictions or, at any rate, of their platform, and as that is never lightly forgiven by the people, it is all but impossible for them to win. One would like, however to see the Republican majority wielded by a man whose record regarding trade was less pronounced and his record regarding money more pronounced, than Mr. McKinley's; but while his heresies frighten commercial and financial men, they rather endear him to the masses. Heretics are generally popular. If he does not win on the first ballot, the “bosses” will probably have a dark horse in reserve, with everything arranged for him to win the race. It is almost impossible to overrate their power in manipulating conventions, and that power is not likely to decrease, tho' it may have to be concealed with ever-increasing art.

The defeat of the Italian army by the Abyssinians has, strange to say, played into the hands of Britain in Africa. Last year the French Government was publicly warned in the House of Commons by Lord Rosebery's Under-Secretary of State, that a projected movement of theirs from the Western Niger regions to the Upper Nile, would be an unfriendly act. The power that possesses lower Egypt could not tolerate it yet; as General Gordon pointed out long ago, the only way to stop it effectually is to hold Khartoum and to connect that key city with the equatorial lakes which are the fountains of the Nile. Contrary to his urgent remonstrances, the Soudan, in which a great commerce was developing, was given up to barbarism. The movement on the part of France put a different face on the matter. It looks like a dog in the manger policy to do nothing ourselves, but to be dissatisfied if another civilized country appears about to step in. The explanation is that the sources of the Nile must not fall into the hands of an enemy possessed of scientific knowledge. The power which possesses the mouth of any other great river controls the whole region that it drains; for though a thousand tributaries, great and small, may swell its volume, even if these could be dammed up or diverted, who could stop the rains all along its course? But the Nile is not dependent on tributaries or rains. It depends wholly on the great equatorial lakes; and as the power that controls the Victoria Nyanza could turn Egypt into a desert, it follows that the power which rules Egypt must extend to the Equator. Though this is now pretty well understood, the House of Commons would be most unwilling to sanction an expedition up the Nile, if it was likely to evoke a declaration of war from France. Consequently, although Lord Cromer urged it last Fall, it was delayed. The time was not propitious. The Armenian Question pressed for solution. France and Russia were close allies. England, having



elected not to take sides with either of the two Confederacies that divide Europe, found herself "splendidly isolated," with her old ally, Germany, angry enough to fight. The battle of Adowa changed everything. On the one hand, it was sure to set the dervishes in motion, to threaten Egypt as well as Kassala. On the other hand, it made every member of the Dreibund anxious that Britain should undertake a movement to the south, because of the indirect relief that would be thus given to Italy. Armenia had been dropped as beyond the power of Britain, and Russia now knows she may occupy the country whenever she likes. France is not likely to attack Britain, backed by Central Europe, for deciding to take steps to preserve Egypt from a possible invasion by the Khalifa's fanatics, even though she may intend to go a good deal farther south than even Khartoum. The expedition, at present, professes to have only Dongola as its terminus, but that is simply on the principle of one step at a time. Mr. John Morley attacks it, for it brings again into prominence the great blunder of his hief, in ordering the abandonment of the Soudan and delaying—till it was too late—an expedition to rescue Gordon. Much can be said in favour of retiring from Egypt altogether. Britain's task there is not only thankless, but it is purchased at the heavy cost of the enmity of France, and the sleepless enmity of a powerful next-door neighbour is not pleasant. Much can be said even in favour of retiring altogether from the Mediterranean. In time of war, Britain has now two other routes to the East, each of them infinitely less liable to interruption than the Suez Canal. But having discussed the whole matter, the mind of the nation is made up to hold on both to the Mediterranean and to Egypt. Mr. Gladstone himself was Premier when Arabi's insurrection was crushed and Egypt occupied. Well, the occupation of Egypt involves the control of the Nile all the way to its source; and as that means the extension of law and order over vast regions where the slave trade now flourishes and a religion of the kind that has shown its claws in Armenia reigns supreme, we can wish God-speed to the expedition. For the good of his own soul, indeed, it would be well if Lord Cromer made a public confession that he was wholly wrong and Gordon wholly right regarding the Soudan; or if not a confession, at least an *apologia*. It is easier to hold what you have already than to re-conquer, after the enemy has had ten years to destroy what had been painfully built up and to strengthen himself at every point. Besides, we have no General Gordon now, and even should Khartoum be taken, the administration of the Soudan is a job to tax any power, except perhaps Britain or Russia. India has been a splendid school for the former and Central Asia for the latter; and both Powers are thus able to command the services of agents trained to deal with savage and half-civilized fanatics. The world is now—thanks to science—so small that lawlessness in it is not to be tolerated any more than weeds in a garden.

While our sympathies are with every civilized power in a struggle with barbarism, the case is altogether different when a people with the capacity of improvement is defending its country against invasion.

The Trek Boers were and still are unattractive, but when their history is considered the marvel is that they remained white and Christian. So, the Abyssinians may be semi-savage, but seeing that they have been for twelve or thirteen centuries a rocky islet surrounded by a raging sea of Islam, the marvel is that they are still a nation, independent, and with probably as much of the spirit of Christianity as exists in the European nations, who traded on the Armenian massacres with the Sultan for influence with him, and—save the mark—for decorations of honour from his blood-stained hands. Italy miscalculated the forces opposed to her, and having found her mistake—should withdraw from Erythrea as England did from the Transvaal. King Humbert insists that a victory must first be gained. The national honour must be satisfied, not by acknowledging its error but by killing brave men, whose only sin is that they stand—in the name of God—for their king and the freedom of their native land! One is sorry for Italy, but she is on the wrong track. England has an account to settle with the man-stealing dervishes, and if that gives any relief to Italy, good and well; but surely she will never throw her sword into the scale against Abyssinia.

Canada has apparently been doing nothing, politically, for more than a year save wrestling with the problem of how to reconcile the two decisions of the Privy Council on the Manitoba School question. The Court decided the law of 1890 to be not only constitutional but even well suited to the Province. We are told that the same Court next decided that the law was worthless, and that the previous, admittedly bad school system must be re-established. Clearly, that cannot be the meaning of the second judgment, and as there is no doubt regarding the interpretation of the first, it ought not to be beyond the wit of man to ascertain the true meaning of the second. What has led to the long conflict of opinion on a matter apparently simple, and along what lines may a solution of the real problem at issue be found? The difficulty could not arise either in Britain or the States. The first is governed by a Parliament, and there being no written constitution, Parliament decides each case on its merits, and may by a vote disestablish a Church or abolish the Crown. The second is a Federation, according to a compact the terms of which the Supreme Court interprets, and when it gives a decision, the question at issue is ended. In neither country is jurisdiction on the same subject given to two legislative bodies. The constitution of Canada is more complex. It combines the characteristics of both countries, for it is a federation and yet is governed by a Parliament. Hence, when the Privy Council says that,—according to a clause in the written constitution—a provincial minority having had a privilege taken away which it once enjoyed, Parliament has jurisdiction to intervene and remedy the grievance, little wonder that eminent constitutional lawyers honestly differ as to what the attitude of Parliament should be. Dr. Weldon says that in every case it is discretionary for Parliament to intervene. Dr. Mills says that, if the Provincial Legislature refuses to act, though

courteously dealt with, then in the last resort, Parliament must intervene. These high constitutional authorities however agree that the present Parliament has not the moral right to intervene in the Manitoba case. That ought to be sufficient, for both are experts, they are on opposite sides politically, and there is no other authority of equal weight in Parliament, except Dalton McCarthy, and he is at one with them where they agree. Outside of Parliament, Sir Oliver Mowat is our greatest constitutional lawyer, and he has spoken strongly on the same side. How can the average member believe that it is his duty to pass irrevocable legislation, in the teeth of such authorities, on a subject on which his constituents have given him no instructions, and to do so, by means of all-night sittings of a Parliament feebly gasping out the sixth session of its existence? Why this unseemly haste? Are the people to be trusted neither on what is an important question, according to Sir Charles Tupper, nor on what is comparatively unimportant, according to Mr. Foster? Parliament does not lose one jot of its jurisdiction by resolving to investigate before acting. And if ever there was a question which demands more than a snap judgment, it is one which is so difficult that it has already broken all party lines, disrupted the Cabinet again and again, cleft the Conservative party in the country from top to bottom, and which may divide the Liberals, also, before it is settled. For finally settled it cannot be, with right respect to the two decisions of the Privy Council, until impartial investigation has been made, to learn whether a real as distinguished from a technical grievance was inflicted on the minority; and if it was, then to determine the nature of the grievance, and to suggest the remedy which would best meet the case. To try to force a settlement now is tyranny which should be resisted by all free men. Friendly conference, and if that fails, investigation by Royal Commission and a settlement on its Report; that is the line for statesmanship to take.

G.

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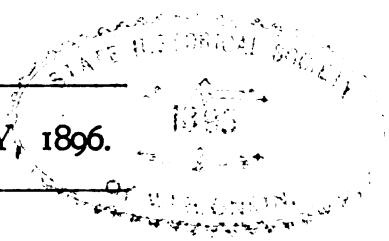
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